

JPRS-WER-84-152

14 December 1984

West Europe Report

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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14 December 1984

WEST EUROPE REPORT

CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL

DENMARK

- Lasse Budtz Warns Nonsocialists: Security Policy Fight Continuing
(Lasse Budtz; AKTUELT, 9 Nov 84) 1

NORWAY

- Storting Conservative Attacks Steen Criticism of NATO Plans
(Grethe Vaernø; AFTENPOSTEN, 8 Nov 84) 3
- Nuclear Disarmament Group Opposes Conventional Buildup
(Thorleif Andreassen; AFTENPOSTEN, 31 Oct 84) 6

SWEDEN

- Foreign Ministry: Baltic Sea Must Be Included in 'Zone'
(Sven Svensson; DAGENS NYHETER, 16 Nov 84) 8

POLITICAL

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

- Structure, Competitive Role of European Union Examined
(Etienne Davignon Interview; POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE,
Autumn 84) 11

CANADA

- Reaction to PQ's Change of Policy
(LA PRESSE, 25 Sep 84) 16
- Levesque's Federalist Policy Criticized, by Michel Roy
Levesque Denounced for Opportunism, by Lysiane Gangon

DENMARK

Center Democrats' Congress Weighs Party Decline, Coalition Tie (BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 10, 13 Nov 84)	20
Chairman Comments on Low Membership, by Solveig Rodsgaard Ties Sought With SDP, LO, by Dan Axel, Ole Dall Paper Discusses Party's Problems, Editorial	
Socialist Paper on Conservatives' Strengthening in Defense Panel (Editorial; AKTUELST, 9 Nov 84)	27
Progressive MP Defects to Conservatives (AKTUELST, 8 Nov 84)	28
Schluter Accused of Imposing Unprecedented Party Discipline (Bjarne Kjaer; AKTUELST, 6 Nov 84)	29

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Kohl Sees Asia as Focal Point of FRG Foreign Policy (Various sources, various dates)	32
Bundestag Applauds PRC Visit Conservative Commentator Guardedly Optimistic, by Robert Held Modernization Offers Economic Opportunities Amerongen Warns Against Illusions	

FINLAND

Official Comments on Policy Toward Refugees (Margit Silberstein; SVENSKA DAGBLADET, 7 Nov 84)	38
--	----

FRANCE

CGT, CFDT Develop Opposite Strategies (Michel Noblecourt; LE MONDE, 6 Nov 84)	41
--	----

NORWAY

Leaders Urged To Participate in Reviving WEU (Editorial; AFTENPOSTEN, 7 Nov 84)	45
--	----

SPAIN

PSOE Performance Judged Against Electoral Promises (YA, 21 Oct 84)	47
Roca Interviewed on PRD as 'Nonsocialist Alternative' (Miquel Roca Interview; EL PAIS, 18 Nov 84)	64
PC Spokesman Mayor Oreja on Basque Political Turmoil (YA, 21 Oct 84)	68

SWEDEN

- Bildt Attacks Government's Handling of USSR Protest of Book
(Carl Bildt; SVENSKA DAGBLADET, 7 Nov 84) 71

TURKEY

- Survey Shows MP Still Politically Vigorous
(MILLIYET, 4 Nov 84) 74
- MP Mock Electoral Victory
Barlas on Survey Results, by Mehmet Barlas

MILITARY

BELGIUM

- Problems With Medical Service During Roaring Lion Maneuvers
(Leo Bridts; KNACK, 17 Oct 84) 80

DENMARK

- Women Still Denied Combat Role
(Erik Matzen; AKTUEL, 12 Nov 84) 83
- Armed Forces Chiefs, SDP Lining Up for Defense Funds Fight
(Erik Matzen; AKTUEL, 13 Nov 84) 85

GREECE

- Military Democratization Sought at ECCO Meeting
(ANDI, 12 Oct 84) 87
- U.S. Allegedly Prepared To Withdraw Military Bases
(MESIMVRINI, 11 Oct 84) 92
- Army Medical Preparedness Tested, Results Satisfactory
(TA NEA, 12 Oct 84) 95
- 'Purchase of Century' Firms Give Priority to Greece Over Turkey
(TO VIMA, 11 Oct 84) 97
- Steyr-Ellas-Manufactured Jeeps
(TA NEA, 10 Oct 84) 98
- Briefs
Arms Industry Cooperation With Italy 99
Details on New Greek-Produced Weapon 99

NETHERLANDS

- Commander Defends Role of National Reserve Corps
(H F Van Loon; DE TELEGRAAF, 3 Nov 84) 101

NORWAY

Women's Situation in Armed Forces Outlined (Liv Hegna; AFTENPOSTEN, 7 Nov 84)	103
Briefs	
Infrastructure Funds Voted	104
Submarine Hunt Called Off	104

ECONOMICS

GREECE

Briefs	
EEC Financing Returnees' Training	105
Foreign Investment Increase Sought	105

ITALY

'DOXA' Opinion Poll on Unemployment, Inflation (Orazio M. Petracca; MONDO ECONOMICO, 11 Oct 84)	106
--	-----

NETHERLANDS

Coalition Parties Disagree on Tax Policy (NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 7 Nov 84)	119
---	-----

SPAIN

Statistical Overview of Regional Unemployment (EL ALCAZAR, 29 Oct 84)	121
Objection to British EEC-Gibraltar Linkage (YA, 30 Oct 84)	124
Statistics on 9-Month Balance of Payments Improvement (Javier Ayuso; ABC, 25 Oct 84)	126
Overview of Spanish Debt Restructuring Strategy (Jose Maria de Urquijo; ABC, 25 Oct 84)	128
Agrarian Reform Seen as Sectoral 'Dismantlement' (Jovellanos; ABC, 21 Oct 84)	130
Illegal Foreign Workers Complicate Unemployment Crisis (Minerva Donald; ABC, 21 Oct 84)	132

LASSE BUDTZ WARNS NONSOCIALISTS: SECURITY POLICY FIGHT CONTINUING

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 9 Nov 84 p 16

[Op Ed Article by Social Democratic member of Folketing Lasse Budtz]

[Text There have been many repercussions from the recent Folketing debate on foreign and security policy and some of the commentaries are quite remarkable. Therefore there is good reason to establish some things the Social Democrats feel are important. This is even more necessary after the publication of Flemming Kofod-Svendsen's article in the "Free Debate" column on Tuesday. Kofod-Svendsen represents the Christians, as we all know.

The Social Democrats also value the broadest possible cooperation on security policy and that is why we have a positive attitude as we enter the talks in the ad hoc committee that will discuss security policy. But it should also be made clear that a very substantial part of the basis for the work must be the resolutions passed by Folketing and the report of the committee of Foreign Ministry officials.

I must warn Kofod-Svendsen and other nonsocialists against believing that the four parties that have often united to put pressure on the government to make it pursue an active detente and arms reduction policy are not resolved to continue exerting this pressure. I am convinced that this pressure will continue and in this context the special security policy majority is still intact.

But I am glad to see that there seems to be more flexibility and realism in Kofod-Svendsen's position than there is in the other nonsocialist parties. Kofod-Svendsen writes that "arms reduction considerations must be an integrated part of all foreign and security policy." We agree with that--and we also agree that NATO is a cornerstone of our security policy. But NATO must not prevent us from pursuing a policy of detente.

Kofod-Svendsen takes up the Social Democratic delegation's trip to Moscow and claims that my "optimism" is contrary to the communique the Kremlin issued via TASS following the visit.

After all I must know more about what the Russians said during our exchanges of opinion than Kofod-Svendsen does. We did not have anything to do with the

communique but we said the Russians were welcome to express themselves more concretely. The Soviet reply to that was that they thought the communique covered what they had expressed and in the talks they did not cast doubt on our interpretation of their statements, although we discussed the statements several times.

However the Soviet form of expression is quite normal, whether one likes it or not. I can give an example. In connection with Indira Gandhi's funeral U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz met with Soviet Minister Nikolay A. Tikhonov. Tikhonov told Shultz that the Soviet government did not think the United States had anything to do with the assassination of Indira Gandhi--as the Soviet press had more than suggested.

This Soviet concession was announced after the meeting by Shultz but it did not appear in the TASS communique.

In my opinion this is standard Soviet practice. And the situation is undeniably very similar to our experiences in connection with the visit to Moscow.

Kofod-Svendsen says I "beamed" after returning home when I talked about the Soviet viewpoints. Everything is relative, but I noted with some satisfaction that the Soviet Union had confirmed that guarantees would be given in connection with a Nordic zone, which is not so remarkable under the circumstances, and that the Soviet Union will negotiate on the Baltic Sea and reducing forces in areas bordering on the zone. This is still a fact and as we know a confirmation means a lot in journalistic intelligence activities--and in politics.

Kofod-Svendsen is manipulating. One notes the intention and feels depressed. Perhaps the truth is that Kofod-Svendsen does not want a zone either.

6578

CSO: 3613/37

STORTING CONSERVATIVE ATTACKS STEEN CRITICISM OF NATO PLANS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 8 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Storting Representative Grethe Vaernø: "Steen and the First-Use Strategy"]

[Text] Every improvement in NATO's conventional ability to stop an attack will be a link in working away from a first-use strategy for nuclear weapons, Grethe Vaernø (Conservative Party) points out in this article.

It can lead to trouble when Reiulf Steen and people who share his opinion among NATO and armed forces opponents attempt to acquire a title to their special interpretations of a Storting recommendation developed by people with a completely different basic attitude.

Steen keeps pulling new rabbits out of the hat. This time he is using hocus-pocus with the wording of the foreign affairs committee's emphasis that "in Norwegian quarters an active contribution is being made toward NATO's being able to work away from a strategy based on the possible first use of nuclear weapons, while concomitantly greater emphasis is being placed on the conventional armed forces."

The Left's Demands

In light of what has happened since the Storting debated the recommendation on security and arms reductions last spring, Reiulf Steen here provides a welcome opportunity to go deeply into this question. You see, demands were immediately raised that Foreign Affairs Minister Stray should take the question up in NATO. And at approximately the same time began the campaign from the left against increased emphasis on the conventional armed forces and against the so-called "offensive" armed forces. In this process "No to Nuclear Weapons" has shown its true face.

The Storting worked toward a stand which would be able to unite both those who first and foremost are occupied with the threat of nuclear weapons and those who see nuclear weapons in a broader security policy context with

emphasis on preventing war through deterrence. The common basis is that they acknowledge the need for reliable, effective alliance armed forces.

Balance Emphasized

The recommendation as a whole therefore stresses a military balance, a reliable American guarantee, the mutual deterrent effect of nuclear weapons, and retention of the offensive-preventing effect residing in the fact that any attacker would risk an unacceptable threat against its own territory.

Attention to these elements is, of course, also the condition for the more concrete statements and proposals in the recommendation. Changes in strategy accordingly must be within this framework.

NATO's current strategy--which is to the effect that the alliance if necessary must be able to put nuclear weapons to use first--fills two main purposes: to create such great uncertainty regarding the consequences of any attack or use of weapons that it kills any gamble; and to make it physically possible to stop an all-out Soviet attack.

Sheltered by their faith in the absolute deterrent effect of the first-use approach, the West Europeans have been able to allow themselves a relatively relaxed attitude toward the conventional "balance." (This is true also of the lack of a regional balance in the north.) A discussion of which requirements must be imposed on such a balance has been evaded; a "defensive" conventional line has been settled on (a low-tension line we call it in the north); and West Germany has been able to sweep its heart-rending problem under the carpet, namely, whether a conventional war in Central Europe should be conducted in West German or East German territory.

The nuclear weapons strategy has in other words "solved" a number of difficult problems.

However, for a great number of reasons there is now agreement in most circles that the alliance has become too dependent on the use of nuclear weapons at an early stage in a conflict--that is, today's conventional armed forces in Europe will not be able to stop an attack at the border without the use of nuclear weapons.

There will probably also be broad agreement that the goal ought to be that NATO is able to meet any conventional attack with conventional weapons.

Conventional Instead

Every improvement in the conventional capacity to stop an attack will therefore be a link in working away from a first-use strategy. But, a general improvement is not sufficiently goal-directed to achieve a change in strategy. The conventional weight shifting must result in the fact that conventional weapons can take over the role and solve the problems which nuclear weapons are attending to today.

The nuclear weapons which are intended for early use in a conflict must be replaced by conventional weapons, and the conventional weapons ought to be able to have a certain deterrent ability in order to be able to expose Soviet territory to an "unacceptable" risk, so that any conflict will not be fought out exclusively on West European or, if need be, Central European soil. Although this ability will never be able to be approximately as deterrent as the risk of a total nuclear war between the USA and the Soviet Union, it will be strengthened by the ever present possibility that conflicts--in spite of every good intention--can all the same be stepped up to a nuclear war.

At the same time, as long as the Soviet Union has nuclear weapons, we must have an ability to prevent /Soviet/ [in italics] first use or the threat of the use of nuclear weapons with a credible warning of a step-up on the part of the West. And we certainly have still not solved the problem of a Soviet strategy which aims at attacking Western nuclear weapons with conventional weapons early in a conflict.

Changing of the strategy accordingly raised a number of worrisome problems which "No to Nuclear Weapons" also has pointed out. The weight will be shifted from absolute deterrence to /warfare/ [in italics] in Europe.

On Lower Level

The ideal answer would be to reach an understanding with the Soviet Union regarding a conventional balance on a lower level, where none of the parties has an offensive strategy or capacity against the other party. The Soviet Union's strategy against West Europe today is heavily offensive with a platform far west into its circle of buffer states which will intercept Western counter-measures. Are they willing to give this up in exchange for a Western non-first-use strategy? The negotiation results in MBFR [Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions] and KNE [expansion unknown] up to now are not encouraging. And in the West we lack a political-military overall vision based on a Western consensus which we can negotiate from.

The most persevering advocates of a non-first-use strategy must therefore be willing to look in the eye the new challenges which will be created and demonstrate a will to solve them without seeking refuge in wishful thinking.

8985

CSO: 3639/26

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT GROUP OPPOSES CONVENTIONAL BUILDUP

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 31 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Thorleif Andreassen: "'No to Nuclear Weapons' Warns: Conventional Arms Buildup Increasing Danger of Nuclear War"]

[Text] "No to Nuclear Weapons" is skeptical that increased conventional arms in NATO will make the defense alliance less dependent on nuclear weapons. On the contrary, it is believed that a heavy conventional arms buildup will probably come in addition to the nuclear buildup which is already taking place on both sides in Europe. "The situation can therefore be even more critical and unacceptable than it is today. Such a conventional arms buildup in NATO can pressure the Soviet Union in the direction of the early use of nuclear weapons."

This comes from a report made by Rolf Thue and Magne Barth of "No to Nuclear Weapons."

[Question] Your movement's work is built on slogans regarding the dismantling of nuclear weapons in the East and West. Now you are opposing a conventional arms buildup in NATO to raise the nuclear threshold. Is the "No to Nuclear Weapons" movement in the process of changing its basis, Magne Barth?

[Answer] "No, we want to take part in the debate regarding the present plans for a conventional arms buildup in the West. This will involve new weapons and new doctrines. It is asserted from many quarters that such a buildup will make us less dependent on nuclear weapons. We take a skeptical attitude toward this being the case," Barth says.

It is, to be sure, pointed out in the report that it is difficult to assess precisely which military and political effects a conventional Western arms buildup will have. But possible negative consequences are stressed on the whole. It is warned, for example, that such a buildup can lead to new Soviet offensive and defensive arms buildup measures.

"If the Soviet Union constantly responds to NATO's conventional arms buildup, it is very uncertain whether on the part of the West they will at all come so far that it will be possible to reduce the dependence on nuclear weapons."

In addition, it is pointed out that the idea of a more offensive strategy--deep strikes, etc.--can heighten political/military crises and increase the risk that a crisis will develop into a war. "It has for a long time been a customary judgement in West Europe that the Soviets' stress on offensive and quick campaigns in the case of war constitutes a threat. It is hard to see that Western offensive strategies, together with new technology, will not engender equivalent fear on the other side," it reads.

In light of this, "No to Nuclear Weapons" believes that two alternatives are indicated. That is, a military solution through an arms buildup, or a political solution through confidence-creating measures, arms control and disarmament.

After this strongly simplified conclusion, Thue and Barth continue: "If it is desired to go the military route, defensive conventional weapons should be gambled on in any case. We are skeptical of the rationale for seeking a balance as far as offensive systems are concerned. Experience shows that such attempts lead to an arms buildup. If a new Western conventional arms buildup is chosen all the same, an absolute minimum requirement must be that the Western nuclear arsenals be reduced at the same time. In this way big amounts of money can be saved and the possibilities increase of also having a reduction in the number of Eastern weapons."

Possible Soviet reactions to a Western conventional buildup run like a leitmotif through "No to Nuclear Weapons'" report. In this connection, reference is made, among other things, to an analysis which was published in the journal SURVIVAL, put out by the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London. "In the short term the Soviet reactions will not be great over and beyond propaganda initiatives. But in the long run the Warsaw Pact will view NATO's deep offensive concepts--and especially several important new Western technologies--as a very threatening development. It will therefore probably adjust its operational plans, growth in strength and preparation of the battlefield in order to meet the challenge."

In this connection, possible Soviet counteractions are listed: Several divisions will be placed on the front line, since these are stronger than other divisions in the Warsaw Pact. A shorter time for putting the main forces into action in battle can occur by the use of "Operational Maneuver Groups" which are equipped for rapid advance and attacks against NATO's main lines. Further strengthening of Soviet air defenses and the ability to knock out air forces on the Western side. Preparations for still more rapid advances.

All these possible countermeasures can, according to the report, determine the effect of a new NATO doctrine.

FOREIGN MINISTRY: BALTIC SEA MUST BE INCLUDED IN 'ZONE'

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Nov 84 p 8

[Article by Sven Svensson]

[Text] The superpowers will have to guarantee that the Baltic becomes free of nuclear weapons in order for Sweden to be able to enter into a nuclear-arms-free zone comprising the Nordic countries. This was established by the government in a statement by the Foreign Ministry on Sweden's views on a Nordic zone arrangement.

The statement was last Thursday handed over to the Nordic ambassadors in Stockholm.

The basic idea underlying the plans of a nuclear-arms-free zone comprising the Nordic countries is to increase the security of the Nordic countries. The statement by the Foreign Ministry aims at providing the basis for a continued discussion of the zone and to seek to create a common basis for such a discussion.

First of all, the statement will form the basis for a meeting to be held in Copenhagen in well over 1 week. Denmark's Prime Minister Poul Schluter and Sweden's Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom as well as several Swedish parliamentarians will participate in the meeting.

From the Swedish side it is an absolute condition for a nuclear-arms-free zone comprising the Nordic countries that it will also include the Baltic.

The Baltic is now the area where nuclear weapons have demonstrably been deployed in times of peace, among other places on board Soviet submarines.

In the Swedish opinion, a nuclear-arms-free zone comprising the Nordic countries should, primarily, comprise the territories of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland, including sea territories and air space. Iceland should be offered to participate in a zone arrangement.

Negotiations

Sweden's territorial waters in the Baltic cover 12 nautical miles, and that area should be included in a nuclear-arms-free zone. The question as to how to otherwise ensure that the Baltic becomes free of nuclear arms will have to be solved through negotiations.

Large sections of the Baltic constitute international waters. The Nordic countries, therefore, cannot make any decision regarding the status of the Baltic. The freedom from nuclear weapons of the Baltic may, however, be guaranteed through commitments on the part of the nuclear powers, i.e., in practice, the Warsaw Pact countries and the NATO states. Those countries will have to promise to remove their nuclear weapons from the Baltic and to refrain from introducing nuclear weapons in the area.

Of practical interest is furthermore, that the right to pass through the Sound and the Great Belt is governed by the rules and regulations of the International Conference on the Law of the Sea.

The statement stresses that Sweden's point of departure is to fully respect each Nordic country's right to decide which policy is most beneficial for the security of the country in question. Sweden does not intend in any way to seek to influence Norway and Sweden to leave NATO.

It is a condition for a nuclear-arms-free zone that the zone countries commit themselves not to procure nuclear arms or to allow the deployment of nuclear arms in their territories. This applies not only in times of peace but also in times of crisis and in war. Furthermore, the nuclear powers will have to commit themselves not to threaten the zone states with nuclear weapons.

Four Demands

Four commitments are indicated to be crucial. They are unlimited freedom of nuclear arms within the area of the zone, the promise not to attack or threaten to attack with nuclear arms, the commitment concerning the Baltic and certain so-called low-density arrangements around the zone.

Sweden maintains that states which in internationally binding agreements relinquish nuclear arms have an obvious right to be promised not to be subjected to nuclear arms or threat of use of nuclear arms.

The demand for so-called negative security guarantees must not be seen as unrealistic expectations that zone states would be completely protected from risks of nuclear attacks, it says in the statement. Nor is there occasion to believe that such promises would create a false feeling of security and reduce the commitment for an actual nuclear arms build-down.

In summary, the statement from the Foreign Ministry claims that a nuclear-free zone comprising the Nordic countries would involve a limitation of the

freedom of action of the nuclear powers in the Nordic area and reduce the risk of use of nuclear arms against the zone states.

Sweden's foreign policy line is considered not to constitute any hindrance in entering into agreements on a nuclear-free zone. Similar commitments have been made through the membership of the United Nations.

Commitments or arrangements of control which give a foreign power the possibility to influence the Swedish security policy cannot, however, be accepted.

7262

CSO: 3650/57

STRUCTURE, COMPETITIVE ROLE OF EUROPEAN UNION EXAMINED

Paris POLITIQUE INTERNATIONALE in French Autumn 84 pp 301-307

[Interview with Etienne Davignon, vice president of the Commission of the European Communities, by Pascal Fontaine, assistant to Jean Monnet from 1973 to 1977 and since 1980, political adviser of the European Popular Party Group (Christian Democrat) in the European Parliament, and author of: "Le Comité d'action pour les Etats-Unis d'Europe" [The Committee for Action for the United States of Europe], Center for European Research, 1974; "Euroshima: construire l'Europe de la defense" [Euroshima: Building Defense Europe] (with G. Doly and R. Cagnat), Media, 1979; "Une course sans retour" [A Course with no Return], Center for European Research, 1980; time and location of interview not specified.]

Reviving Europe

Pascal Fontaine: Mr Commissioner, will the method of operation of an entity made up of 10 states, which is already jammed, be able to adapt when Spain and Portugal become members in the near future? In other words, don't we have to imagine putting in place a Europe "moving at several speeds?"

Etienne Davignon: As the polls show, the European idea is still very important. It is correct, however, that the "European architecture" doesn't correspond to the citizens' wishes. That being so, the machinery was put back in working order: everyone reported, at Fontainebleau, that the EEC has no immediate future unless there is a swift solution to the budgetary problem (which goes well beyond the British question!). Unless such a solution is found, we can
forget the entrance of Spain and Portugal!

An increasing number of officials are becoming aware that the dilemma is no longer posed in terms of "conquerors and conquered" but, on the contrary, by means of the alternative "Europe or the unknown"!

Can we, for all that, speak of the advent of "Europe a la carte"? I don't think so. Of course, not */everything/* [in italics] is as indispensable to */all/* [in italics] of the member states. For example, in research, the same financial effort cannot be imposed on those who are already doing research--satisfactorily--or those who don't really need R and D [research and development] in some sector or other.

Is that Europe a la carte? No. It is necessary to conceive of a system that maintains a basic contribution, even if someone doesn't take part in all of the activities of the "Club".

Pascal Fontaine: The European Parliament has just been elected, for the second time, by universal suffrage. Shouldn't this reinforcement of its legitimacy be accompanied by an extension of its jurisdiction?

Etienne Davignon: Let me first remind you that by fully affirming its budgetary powers, the European Parliament has contributed to the development of policies and strategies in sectors in which the member states were quite hesitant.

Pascal Fontaine: For example?

Etienne Davignon: I'll cite three.

First of all, there wouldn't have been a social section to our anticrisis strategy in steel if the Parliament had not supported the Commission's efforts.

Then, by rejecting the European Community's budget, the Parliament forced the governments and the Commission to make it a real part of the dialogue process.

Finally, the Parliament is still innovative, in the sense that it wants */more/* [in italics] Europe, and above all, more quality for Europe.

As long as the Community's budget remained not much higher and was fed by national "contributions", control by the European Parliament wasn't essential. From the moment that budget is made up of resources belonging to the Community which it believes to be significant, control by the European Parliament becomes necessary.

Pascal Fontaine: In the minds of some of the founding fathers, and in the spirit of the Treaties, the Commission was to have been a supranational organ, totally independent of the states, and acting collegially. Well, aren't we witnessing a rampant "renationalization" of the institution?

Etienne Davignon: What is meant by "an organ totally independent of the states"? It isn't necessary to dream: to count our chickens before they are hatched or mull over the problems of the member countries since Sirius would be ridiculous! You have no real power, as a European Commission, unless you contribute solutions, or at least elements of response to the governments' questions. The way we managed the anticrisis policy for steel is a good example. We did it to prevent exactly what you call "rampant renationalization" of one industrial sector which was at the root of the founding of the Community.

In the face of the acceleration of the crisis and the fact that the manufacturers were incapable of offering us a viable solution, the European Commission, for the first time in the history of the ECSC [European Coal and Steel Community], imposed a measure that was of course Draconian, but necessary: production quotas for the iron and steel industry.

We didn't freeze the market data, but we created the conditions for a more long-term restructuring. In this case, quotas are the expression of European

solidarity and each one's share in the sacrifice. This isn't blind planned economy but quite the opposite, a measure destined in time to give this industrial sector a certain competitiveness.

Pascal Fontaine: Do you think the Draft Treaty on the European Union that was adopted by the European Parliament in February 1984 has any chance of being ratified by the parliaments of the 10 member states?

Etienne Davignon: We aren't there yet, but what is encouraging for Mr Spinelli's draft is that President Mitterrand referred to it very clearly before the European Parliament.

To say that this law will be approved by the Ten as it is presently being introduced seems to me to be going to work too fast. In any case, this law now serves as a basis for discussion in order to fashion the next stage of European integration; this is not negligible.

Pascal Fontaine: In the Commission, you are considered to be both the ambulance driver for the "lame ducks" of European industry and the obstetrician for new policies. Will the Esprit program* be followed by other proposals?

Etienne Davignon: We have to take care of consolidating the decision to launch the Esprit program; a failure would be all the more bitter because we won't be granted another opportunity to launch such an operation!

Having said that, Esprit not only opens up important prospects for development, but it also means the return of a Europe with ambition. This is a large-scale decision. This is the first optimistic decision of the years 1983-1984; and it has impressed our American and Japanese partners! To realize the program, the Commission sort of obtained credentials; thus, for concrete actions in the telecommunications and biotechnology sectors, no one will be able to use the excuse of the scale of these projects against us. Our simple but ambitious objective is for Europe to run the race in the lead, with the American and Japanese rivals.

That being the case, there is no need to mix different kinds together; we have no vocation as all-around planners. We don't want to, nor can we, take the place of the principal actors, namely the manufacturers. The Commission is not a kind of complaint department where everyone would come to proclaim his distress in the hope that a miracle would take place.

Pascal Fontaine: Certain European industrial groups prefer to contract agreements with American and Japanese partners rather than with European firms. Isn't the European dimension already outmoded?

Etienne Davignon: I sincerely deplore that kind of behavior. However, we must not forget that certain European industrialists have sought a "marriage" with partners who are also European, without success because of deep-rooted distrust.

*Esprit: European Program for Research and Development in the Field of Information Technology.

That's why they preferred to ally themselves with partners outside of the Community in order to keep their advance position in technology or to have access to a technology that is insufficiently developed in Europe. If such agreements rest on true cooperation in industrial research and development, that is still a good thing.

But attitudes change, and change rapidly: now, with the Community's support, a genuine European alternative is possible. This is as true for the old industrial sectors as it is for the new technologies.

Pascal Fontaine: Which are the big industrial sectors in which, by concentrating its efforts, Europe can remain competitive in the coming decades?

Etienne Davignon: I would be tempted to answer, all of them! And that's hardly a joke! The stakes, for the Europe of 1984, are comparable to those of the 1950s. What do we have to offer the countries, businesses and citizens of the Community, in 1984, that corresponds to the same type of commitment as that of the Customs Union in 1958 and which, though it doesn't eliminate the risks, at least increases their security?

Europe must be the site of */an industrial strategy/* [in italics] that distinguishes between the old sectors, which must be adapted, and the new activities to be developed.

We are well on the way in the so-called "traditional" sectors: iron and steel, shipbuilding, textiles and automobiles.

As for the fields in which Europe must assert itself more, they are the information technologies (robotics microchips), the new-generation telecommunications, biotechnology. Here, it is above all a matter of solving a problem of dimension; the world market must be aimed at.

Pascal Fontaine: You said in 1981 that it would be necessary to break open the locks inside the European market. What blockages were you alluding to at that time?

Etienne Davignon: What I have proposed is finally to counter the turning in on itself by means of European industrial space, by winning back the continental domestic market.

The option the Commission has chosen is to provide industrial redeployment by restarting investment, provided the investment's particular goals are:

- new technologies
- activities that are responsive to priorities defined in the framework of the Community (energy, R&D, environmental protection, etc.).

The choice is explained by analyzing the recent past, which demonstrates two things. First, the hope that exportation will recover is uncertain. The Community's industry is less well placed to respond to a resumption of world demand. Since 1978, European products' share in the world market has been regressing.

Secondly, it is unrealistic to bet on an increased internal consumption to provide industrial redeployment. In the case of Europe, stimulating consumption is favorable neither to its trade balance nor to its employment. The option the Commission has chosen is also linked to the high-priority objective of fighting inflation: national budgets favoring investment rather than consumption reduce inflationist pressure.

Pascal Fontaine: How do you envision the putting in place of a European defense?

Etienne Davignon: I believe it is necessary to avoid the ambiguity that usually surrounds that debate.

To my knowledge, there is no existing system of European information on the development of production and sales by the weapons industries, nor is there any general inventory of Europe's technological capacities and needs.

In those circumstances, it is a little absurd to bring up the problem of "common defense". What's more, it is not the European Commission's responsibility to draw up a defense policy, or even to organize collaboration in that area.

However, we shouldn't be hypocritical; it is obvious that the suppliers of arms and the R&D activities in military technology have a considerable influence on the modern industrial economy. Both those elements have an effect, especially on employment, and must be taken into account when we talk about an industrial strategy at the European level.

Pascal Fontaine: Do you believe in reviving the Union of Western Europe?

Etienne Davignon: Logically, Europe should be able to exert collectively a greater responsibility for what is its own security. That doesn't mean we need a new institution; the UEO [Union of Western Europe] has the merit that it exists, let's use it.

Pascal Fontaine: Is it possible and desirable for the nuclear powers of the EEC (France and Great Britain) to get together? Do you think the idea of "Europe as the pillar of the Atlantic Alliance" which was launched in 1962 by John Kennedy and Jean Monnet is still topical?

Etienne Davignon: The Atlantic Alliance is irreplaceable. What counts is that the Europeans /collectively/ [in italics] assume their responsibilities there.

We were able to demonstrate to President Reagan, in the Euro-Siberian pipeline affair, that it would be absurd to make the European allies pay double--in energy terms and in terms of technology--, because the United States and Europe make identical analyses of the problems connected with human rights and the situation in Poland.

Europe won the case because it was speaking with a single voice; that's the European pillar of the Atlantic Alliance.

REACTION TO PQ'S CHANGE OF POLICY

Levesque's Federalist Policy Criticized

Montreal LA PRESSE in French 25 Sep 84 p 6

[Article by Michel Roy: "Policy Change of the PQ"]

[Text] Let us reread a vital passage from the statement which Rene Levesque made Saturday at the national council of the PQ [Quebec Party]: "We do not have the right to practice scare tactics and sabotage as long as we are within the federal system. If federalism were to do better, would that mean that the question of sovereignty would be postponed indefinitely? It is a risk but it is a noble risk which we do not have the option to refuse."

That means that the prime minister, rather than holding the upcoming elections on the issue of independence, accepts the policy of conciliation which Brian Mulroney is pledging to carry out with the provinces, Quebec in particular. The people, he says, would not forgive his turning it down. The PQ is, therefore, beginning a major change of direction, the most important one in its history. The militants will have to resign themselves to it during a special congress or a broadened national council. Or else.....the party will explode.

The political analysis which Mr Mulroney is basing on the political climate following 4 September is not wrong. It is obvious that a party such as his is asking for trouble if it prepares referendums at the very moment when the manifestation of a new federalism seems to be awakening great hopes. That is why, from his perspective, he is perfectly right in encouraging his party to go back on the famous resolution of the congress of last June.

Yes, Mr Levesque's analysis is correct. But his thought processes have been disconcerting for the last 3 years. He is the one who pushed his party and its militants to the limits of exasperation after the constitutional failure of 1981. He is the one who first took out the hyphen which changed the meaning of sovereignty-association. He is the one who, humiliated after the battle of Ottawa, denounced the federal regime and its political personnel with a viciousness which had never before been witnessed in the country's history. He is the one, again, who came to the conclusion that the "association" was useless and began to speak of independence. Again, he is the one who, last February, with the support of the cabinet, declared that it would be

"insane" not to place the sovereignty option "at the heart of the next electoral campaign." And it is the national executive council, under the leadership of Mr Levesque, which prepared in May 1984 a manifesto on the "vital necessity" of a "sovereign society" of Quebec.

So it was normal that last June's congress, stirred up by so much fervor to fight, should adopt a resolution according to which a vote for the PQ would be a vote for independence in 1991.

Today, to all these fervent members of the PQ, the prime minister announced that it would be better to give the federalism which Mr Mulroney plans to institute every chance. And he added that this new strategy comes under "means", that it in no way alters the "end". In other words: the PQ, as a government, will be federalist on the surface but independentist at heart. "Perhaps, he also said, we will not see full independence before the year 2000!" Neither full nor partial.

This is why the political analysis which was proposed this past week-end in Quebec, even if it is irrefutable in the short term, is plunging the PQ ranks and the entire political class in a disarray and stupor. Because we no longer know when or where Mr Levesque is telling the truth. Was it in 1981, in 1982, in 1983? Was it in February or in May 1984? Is it in September 1984? What is the central theme in his thought processes? Where are the principles which strategy could not question? We can wonder if he was really rejecting federalism under Pierre Trudeau or only the person and the ideas of Mr Trudeau. And how will the chief explain to all these thousands of young people who have believed so strongly in the sovereignty ideal the secret criteria of the new strategy?

Before this national council, the PQ was in the middle of a dilemma. Believing he can resolve it, Mr Levesque is aggravating his credibility problem.

Levesque denounced for Opportunism

Montreal LA PRESSE in French 25 Sep 84 p 7

[Article by Lysiane Gangon: "A la recherche de la vérité"]

[Text] Only the liberal supporters will rejoice in the spectacle which the PQ and its government are offering. These successive prevarications around the party's fundamental option will be so much grist for their mill. For the others, among them myself, this spectacle is distressing, this disorder is painful to witness and we are only wishing for one thing: that it be over, no matter what the outcome, but that it be over.

Mr Levesque's remarks, at the national council of the PQ, confirm what we have been guessing all summer: the conservative victory supplied him with a way out of the promise he had already made, both himself and through his party, to make the next elections a decision on independence. Mr Levesque spelled it out: he will play the federalist game at the risk of proving along the way that independence is not necessary.

That in itself is not the problem. Always, and in particular since the 1980 referendum and the 1991 electoral campaign when the sovereignty option was placed on the back burner, the PQ government has had the implicit mandate to function in good faith within the federal system. Should we conclude from Mr Levesque's remarks that, up to now, he had been showing bad faith and practicing a policy of painting things blacker than they are?

Mr Levesque is not wrong either in letting it be understood that the concept of independence is in no way sacred. For the serious independence supporters, independence has never been anything but a means, a tool for development, and not an end in itself. If it were to appear clearly that the federal regime is preferable to any other for Quebec, it would be no tragedy since the ultimate objective - the best interest of the people of Quebec - would be safe. (These considerations are theoretical: there is never anything this clear in politics, for any political vision is subjective. What is certain is the effect: if the number of independentists continues to decrease, that would mean that independence is not necessary, for what is necessary in politics is only what is felt to be necessary by a substantial proportion of the population.)

Nor is it the desire for cooperation with the new conservative government which is a problem: before a more conciliatory interlocutor, it is politically intelligent on the part of Mr Levesque to offer the collaboration of the provincial government in exchange for certain accommodations. But who is going to believe that a change of government in Ottawa represents a change in the very nature of the federal regime? A change which can push the PQ to completely reverse directions? Who is going to believe that this "conversion" is inspired by anything other than electoral opportunism?

What is a problem in the current reversal of the PQ is that there is such a reversal and that it is the fourth in 10 years and this, not on points of detail but on the fundamental option of the party. And that it is occurring, like the other times - but this time it is too much, our cup runneth over! - in confusion, that word games are being played and speeches with a double meaning being made, saying one thing to the militants (the PQ remains independentist) and the opposite to the population (the PQ is, for the moment, federalist).

1974: introduction of stages and of the concept of a post-electoral referendum. 1980: introduction of the notion of "negotiation mandate" in a referendum which was initially to bear on the sovereignty-association. 1982: erosion of the concept of "association", return to independence "pure and strong", and promise to clarify everything at the next elections - a project which was confirmed at the congress of last spring.

All these turnabouts were initiated by Mr Levesque himself. Once again, it is his party which is serving as his scapegoat, but those who have attended his congresses know full well that on the question of sovereignty, the party has never done anything but follow, even if it was sometimes by getting carried away, the impetus of its leader.

Mr Levesque states that it is a phrase which was voted at the last congress ("a vote for the PQ amounts to a vote for independence") which is at the root of all the evils, but the truth is that this little phrase has only made more explicit pledges which had been clearly set forth beforehand, and, on several occasions, by the leader of the party and by the cabinet. The last straw: Mr Levesque is now asking the militants to "reflect", but in secret, behind closed doors, so as not to give the impression of division! He says to them: the elections may be held over independence but this is not certain so do not talk about it. But how could he galvanize the electorate on this theme after having buried it and made it a taboo subject?

Deputy Pierre de Bellefeuille, having remained faithful to the option and program of the party, is quite right to be appalled when he finds himself and those who think like him, treated as a "dissident" or "chatterbox" because he dared put forward the party's official line!

Poor party. Its leader and its big wheels are committing it to placing independence on the back burner, when barely a year ago they were telling it to go full speed ahead. But at the same time, the party is obliged to supply the resolutions of the congress and to prepare a plan to "revive" the independentist option!

That it may go down under the weight of all this confusion, that it may become divided after an electoral defeat or on the occasion of a renewal of the leadership, this will be serious but no doubt it will be inevitable--for an abscess must finally burst.

Even more serious, the citizens no longer have the constitutional option of the party in power: is it independentist? Federalist? Independentist at heart but federalist on the surface to please the electorate? Federalist at heart but independentist on the surface to please the militants? Is he pretending to subscribe to federalism the better to demonstrate, at the first defeat, the necessity for independence? Or is he completely abandoning the idea which gave him birth? Are these questions of "plumbing"? Not at all: we are dealing here neither with questions of detail or tactics, but the very heart of the question.

When tricks become routine, it becomes unbearable, all the more since these endless changes are emphasizing the situation of uncertainty which is so harmful to Quebec's economic development and since the PQ is currently turning off an entire generation from politics, by giving, concerning its own ideal, the example of incoherence and cynicism.

From such a good example, this generation, the one that believed in the PQ, is also on the verge of cynicism, and it no longer believes in politics, cosily settled into good, lifelong jobs in public life or making money in the private sector. Normal? Perhaps...but then, let the PQ at least abstain from preaching to others. For, between the ideological cynicism and the other cynicism, that of lower management and of fiddling with contracts, it is not certain that the latter is not less dishonorable than the former.

8956

CSO: 3619/9

CENTER DEMOCRATS' CONGRESS WEIGHS PARTY DECLINE. COALITION TIE

Chairman Comments on Low Membership

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 10 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by Solveig Rodsgaard]

[Text] The Center Democrats will today start their national congress and are full of confidence although the party has only been able to muster 2,500 members. The national chairman will get an opponent in the elections.

The Center Democrats are now setting a record. A total of 2,500 members--the largest number since the party was formed in November of 1973. However, they are not stable members. Withdrawals from the party and new members obviate one another, but up to one fourth of the members change every year.

With these facts from the organizational debate in mind, the Center Democrats will today start their national congress at the Brondby Hall. Not only does the party now have its highest membership figure. The national congress will also become the largest congress, with the participation of 336 members. However, the support among voters is low.

The Center Democrats lost seven seats in the January election, and only one Gallup poll since then has brought the party just above the support on the election day of 4.6 percent. It is true that the leading politicians of the Center Democrats have always been saying that the Center Democrats have a low rate of support in between the elections but nevertheless achieve good support on election day. That, however, did not apply in the January election, and this has off and on annoyed the party. Not least because the burden of work is heavy in a small party which, on top of it, has to give up three members of the Folketing to the government parties.

The national chairman of the Center Democrats, Peter Duetoft, however, is fully confident even if he would have liked to see 10,000 members instead of the 2,500.

"The representatives of the Center Democrats, however, probably will have to take it easy. The voters of the Center Democrats are people who do not want permanent ties to a political party. That also appears from the fluctuations which the Center Democrats experience from one election to the next," says Peter Duetoft in the written report.

He, moreover, states that a party member may very well be an excellent member even if in a certain election he wants to indicate his dissatisfaction with a current issue.

That is probably basically what we all want for Social Democratic voters to do in connection with the party's shift in the area of security policy. For the traditional Social Democratic voters who are dissatisfied with the large party's new anti-NATO line might show their dissatisfaction in one election merely to give a warning. A good alternative to the Social Democratic Party in such a protest would, of course, be the Center Democrats, who when it comes to many fundamental positions are close to the right wing of the Social Democratic Party.

Changing into a Nonsocialist Party

Incidentally, Peter Duetoft, who has been the national chairman of the Center Democrats for 6 years, got an opponent in the elections at the national congress. The opponent is Peter von Kohl, a reporter. However, since the national council of the party has nominated Peter Duetoft with 24 votes, and Peter von Kohl got 1 vote, the national chairman probably can expect to be reelected.

Peter von Kohl says that he has offered himself for nomination because he disagrees with Peter Duetoft on the political placement of the Center Democrats and finds that the party has come too close to the nonsocialist parties.

Peter Duetoft does not understand that. "In the first place, my election is an organizational election, so if he wanted to change the line of the party, he probably should offer himself as a candidate opposing Erhard Jacobsen. In the second place, I have the very reputation of being a left-wing oriented Center Democrat and seeking toward the center, so that thing about changing toward the nonsocialist camp, I do not understand."

The other officers were nominated for reelection, which means that the founder of the party, Erhard Jacobsen, was reelected political chairman of the party with applause.

The political main issues at the national congress are expected to be the Center Democrats' loyalty toward the government, the security policy and not least the new high cash evaluations, for the Center Democrats are still the party of home owners.

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 10 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by Dan Axel and Ole Dall]

[Text] Despite the election defeat in the elections to the Folketing last January, the Center Democrats feel well as the leaf of the four-leaf clover to which it is up to arrange contacts to the red rose of the Social Democratic Party. "It is not in order to fish for votes," says Erhard Jakobsen. "But I suppose it does not harm saying things that they like to hear."

The Center Democrats fear a direct showdown with the trade union movement next spring and, therefore, strongly urge that a more open dialogue take place with the Social Democratic leaders of the trade unions.

"The situation has become rather critical. Not least the Semi-Skilled Workers' Union should know that we are a few who are working to arrange that things run fairly smoothly--even if we probably shall not be able to agree," the party chairman of the Center Democrats, Erhard Jakobsen, tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

Reconciling Attitude

The national congress of the Center Democrats, held over the week-end, incidentally, showed an extremely reconciling attitude toward the Social Democrats. It was as if, without wanting directly to fish for votes within the Social Democratic Party, the Center Democrats wanted to be the leaf of the four-leaf clover which may arrange contact to the red rose of the Social Democratic Party.

Minister of Greenland Affairs Tom Hoyem:

"We do not want to participate in a campaign against the Social Democratic Party, but it is, indeed, with sorrow that we have seen the party develop the way it has."

Special Standpoints

And it was quite clear that the leading Center Democrats at the national congress did everything to put a damper on the open criticism of the government, the Social Democratic Party and the trade union movement. Each speaker who advocated cooperation--which was practically everybody--was enthusiastically applauded from the table of CD ministers.

And the chairman of the Folketing group of the Center Democrats, Frode Nor Christensen, added the following comment:

"The Center Democrats are not--as some believe--merely a minor nonsocialist party. We stick to our planks, but it serves nobody's purpose for us to take special standpoints within the government."

Erhard Jakobsen: "On the other hand, it is clear that the trade union movement is not to determine the economic policy of the government. However, it is not economic policy to annoy the trade union movement with intervention when it comes to exclusive agreements."

The leader of the Center Democrats, at the same time, points out to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that his party will not support the proposal of the Radical Liberal Party that nobody shall be forced to make payments to a political party via his membership in a trade union.

Hunting Among Social Democrats

"We advise against furthering that proposal," says a diplomatic Erhard Jakobsen, who thus, in reality, decides that the Radical Liberal proposal--which is expected to be introduced in a short time--will not have a majority in the Folketing.

Several statements made at the national congress of the Center Democrats at Idrattens Hus [the Sports Center] at Brøndby seemed to indicate that the Center Democrats will now be starting a hunt among right-wing Social Democrats in order thus to increase the support of the **four**-leaf clover toward a majority within the population.

Erhard Jakobsen, however, maintained that the extremely reconciling attitude toward the trade union movement was no attempt for political vote fishing. "We have long had a reconciling attitude toward the trade union movement. On the other hand, it is not forbidden to say something which we know that Social Democratic voters like to hear," he added.

"Defectors" From Other Parties at National Congress

The composition at the national congress was more complex than previously, which, however, did not cause any direct showdown on issues. Previously, it was usually "defectors" from the Social Democratic Party who asserted themselves at the meetings of the Center Democrats, but now it seems as if the "defectors" of the Progressive Party have settled down within the party.

In his concluding remarks to the fifth of the delegates who stayed on until the very end, Erhard Jakobsen, party chairman, said: "This annual meeting beats the record. Never before have things gone as well and been as well organized. We are actually today in a better shape than we have previously been. And as long as we shall be able to stick to our dream of a support among the voters of between 5 and 10 percent, our influence on the political life in Denmark has been safeguarded."

Mimi Stilling Jakobsen:

"The Danes are like a bunch of fat mice sitting under their cheese-dish cover, scandalized watching events outside."

The above statement was made by Minister of Cultural Affairs Mimi Stilling Jakobsen at the national congress of the Center Democrats at Brondby only a few hours after her return from a trip to the United States.

"We are becoming really self-sufficient and full of self-righteousness, so it is actually a good thing that we get a shot in the arm now that refugees are arriving in the country," said Mimi Stilling Jakobsen.

As usual, the speech made by the "crown princess of the Center Democrats" at the national congress was marked more by attitudes and emotions than the political statements which were characteristic of the other speakers.

"It is actually a question whether our society which, in spite of everything, has a good image abroad, is not becoming a problem to ourselves. We may have reached the point where we are suffocating one another with our well-intended rules and regulations," said the minister of cultural affairs

Especially in the United States, Mimi Stilling Jakobsen found it increasingly difficult to answer questions about Denmark as those posing the questions proceeded from their words of praise with respect to "our well-organized model society" to more concrete issues.

"It hurts when people in the United States refer to Denmark as a semi-neutral society. When it comes to that, things are about to go wrong, my friends," were the admonishing words of Mimi Stilling Jakobsen at the national congress of the Center Democrats. She said at the same time that it is "extremely painful having to tell British guests that we are not too happy about having to pay for the 25,000 men whom they will have to contribute as reinforcements of NATO in case things should go wrong. They are contributing human lives, and we have a cozy time."

Also the peace movement--whether it calls itself the Sports, Teachers or Nursery Schools for Peace-- came under fire. "Do they really believe that they will be able to remove one single missile from Soviet territory when the system over there does not even allow an old and sick man to move from Gorky to Moscow," Mimi Stilling Jakobsen concluded by saying with reference to the Andrei Sakharov case.

"The crown princess" received loud and prolonged applause when--still visibly tired from her trip--she left the rostrum in the Sports Center at Bronbyoster to get to a phone to call her small son.

Erhard Jakobsen not Supported in his Attitude toward Federation of Trade Unions

"Erhard Jakobsen is not supported by the majority of the delegates of the Center Democrats when he says that we have to put a damper on our criticism of compulsory party support and exclusive agreements."

The chairman of "Denmark's Free Trade Union," Ernst Nielsen, who had set up a special stand at the national congress of the Center Democrats, tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that the rank and file party members have not from the rostrum opposed the reconciling attitude of the party chairman toward the trade union movement comprised under the Federation of Trade Unions.

Together with, among others, the fired HT driver, Per Brandt, Ernst Nielsen had appeared to promote the cause of their trade union.

They tell of delegates who over the week-end anonymously dissociated themselves from Erhard Jakobsen's position on party support and exclusive agreements.

This "silent and anonymous rebellion," however, was in no way reflected in the speeches from the rostrum of the national party congress. On the contrary. Several speakers praised the party chairman's outstretched hand toward the trade union movement.

Paper Discusses Party's Problems

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 13 Nov 84 p 8

[Editorial: "The Sincere Party"]

[Text] The Center Democrats are a sincere party. The leaders and members of the party certainly are not fat mice sitting under the cover of the cheese dish scandalized watching events outside. It is a party the founder and chairman of which never can and never wants to deny that he has spent the major part of his life in the Social Democratic Party, which has filled his life. It is party whose members are marked by it and which has given them a positive basic attitude. It was created on the basis of certain planks, originating in good nonsocialist politics. To the Center Democrats, the memberships in NATO and the EC are dominant. The party is always ready to spend additional money on the defense. And it marks it nonsocialism through its strong positions on the fiscal policy, property taxes, single-family homes and automobile taxation.

The Center Democrats are sincere in their talks and their actions. They do not conceal anything. They entered into the four-leaf-clover government without reservations, and they were from the very start prepared that it would cost them votes. Under the pragmatic leadership of Erhard Jakobsen, however, they have never--or only rarely--been burdened by any sense of insecurity. It may become more difficult for the party in the future to reconcile itself to the fact that its freedom of movement has become restricted by the government coalition, but it is inconceivable that the party would ever in any way act in a disloyal manner toward its stronger coalition partners.

The national congress of the Center Democrats was marked by low-key speakers. Only Minister of Cultural Affairs Mimi Stilling Jakobsen was able to muster the enthusiasm of which any party would want a streak when its representatives are gathered. Her strong words on the Danes and their view of the Americans

should resound in an assembly which still regards itself as a reaction to a development which has caused the Social Democrats to go astray. The speech gave the minister of cultural affairs another opportunity to distinguish herself as the 'first lady,' but that does not necessarily mean that she will also become the future party leader. Erhard Jakobsen is chairman as long as he wants to remain chairman, and the party is bound to be concerned about the day when he no longer is active in politics. By then, new forces may have appeared and asserted themselves with force in a party which, undoubtedly, will never become a large party but which for that very reason needs strong personalities.

The Center Democrats were founded under special circumstances which helped the party acquire a seat in parliament. The situation is in many ways different from what it was a few years ago, and the Center Democrats have experienced both big defeats and big gains in the elections. They may have to incur further losses as a result of their participation for years in a government together with larger parties. The possibilities of the party largely depend on whether it will be able to retain the sincerity which has become its attractive characteristic.

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CSO: 3613/36

SOCIALIST PAPER ON CONSERVATIVES' STRENGTHENING IN DEFENSE PANEL

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 9 Nov 84 p 9

[Editorial: "Political Deal"]

[Text] The shift of Progressive Party veteran John Arentoft from the Progressive Party to the Conservatives is a gift to Prime Minister Poul Schluter. The government now has its parliamentary base--which the voters did not provide in the January election--in place.

It is not surprising that it is John Arentoft who is leaving the remnants of Glistrup's once so powerful party. He is leaving a divided "party" that is totally without influence. The eradication of the Progressive Party may be the present government's biggest political service and we will not be ungrateful to the Schluter government for that at least. It is a different and quite serious matter that this happened because the four government parties have adopted the Progressive Party policy in virtually all areas.

Arentoft's party change and his reception as a fullfledged member of the Conservative Folketing group has caused bitterness on the part of the four remaining Progressive members. It is a fact that Arentoft received an "offer" from the Conservatives before. One of the inducements offered was a nomination district if he changed parties. The future will show what "price" the Conservatives paid to guarantee the government an extra deciding vote. By changing parties Arentoft himself has excluded the possibility that the government will appoint him as the new commissioner of the home guard. The very idea would be so unreasonable that not even the present government could possibly entertain it.

6578

CSO: 3613/37

PROGRESSIVE MP DEFECTS TO CONSERVATIVES

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 8 Nov 84 p 15

[Text] Progressive Party foreign and defense policy spokesman John Arentoft is now leaving the Progressive Folketing group. Arentoft will join the Conservative group in Folketing and this means that the government's parliamentary safety net which consists of Ole Maisted (Free Democrat) and Faeroese representative Ole Breckmann now appears quite secure.

Writings Led to Decision

"I am not a rat who would leave a sinking ship," Arentoft told AKTUELT in connection with the turmoil in the Progressive Party when Ole Maisted slammed out the door in the spring.

"I regard defectors and political vagrants as the most unworthy people in political life," Arentoft said on that occasion.

"Things have not gone well since the election and the writings that appeared in our own paper about me have led to this decision," Arentoft says now and as of today he is a member of the Conservative group.

Progressive Party Now Smallest in Folketing

With Arentoft's departure the Progressive Party has been reduced to the smallest party entitled to representation in Folketing. Helge Dohrmann, Kristen Poulsgaard, Ove Jensen and Pia Kjaersgaard are now the only ones left.

"It is no secret that John Arentoft has played up to the Conservatives. And I am 100 percent certain that the reason he is changing now is that he is so naive that he believes it will improve his chances of becoming commissioner of the home guard," group chairman Helge Dohrmann said of Arentoft's departure.

Dohrmann: Last Defection

"For party reasons I would prefer that Arentoft had gone when we had problems in connection with Ole Maisted. But unfortunately John Arentoft is more concerned with his own situation than he is for the party he was elected from," added Dohrmann. He personally guarantees that no more Progressive members will be leaving the Folketing group.

SCHLUTER ACCUSED OF IMPOSING UNPRECEDENTED PARTY DISCIPLINE

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 6 Nov 84 pp 16-17

[Article by Bjarne Kjaer]

[Text] Political vacillation has become a major issue for the nation's second largest party. The just concluded Conservative national council meeting revealed a party that wants to stay in power no matter what it costs.

Staunch conservatism has been put on the shelf, at least externally. The proposed asocial cuts are wrapped in elegant and elaborate phrases. Criticism in any form is taboo and if any criticism does occur it is just weak complaints about the partners in the government coalition. The party's own special issues are swathed in meaningless and diplomatic terms intended to show that the Conservative Party has become a true people's party. A nonsocialist people's party, of course.

The party intends at all costs to hold onto the almost 800,000 voters who supported it in the January election and the 42 seats in Folketing while retaining its position as the leading party in the government coalition with the Liberals, CD [Center-Democrats] and the Christian People's Party.

Rigid Discipline

With a rigid discipline without parallel in any other Danish party, internal criticism and staunch conservative policies have been repressed. This made the Conservative national council meeting look like a meeting of a society of old ladies. Tame, trivial and meaningless. Apparently the well over 2,000 participants agreed on everything in Danish politics; there were no ripples on the surface. And the agreement is focused on at least one thing: Prime Minister Poul Schluter is the man who rescued the Conservative Party from degradation. It is Schluter who restored the party after humiliating defeat, after it had been predicted in the mid-1970's that the party would soon be a thing of the past when the party was overtaken on the right by the Liberals, the Progressives and Erhard Jakobsen's Center-Democrats. But Schluter turned things around and made sure that the conservative wave that swept over large parts of the western world reached Denmark too.

Criticism Censored

Neoconservatism may have shown its true face when Justice Minister Erik Ninn-Hansen threatened to take steps against the union movement's newspaper ads criticizing the government. If the criticism of the government did not stop, the word went out, we are ready to use our legal powers to stop it. Deliberately or not the smooth facade was cracked in the otherwise beautiful Conservative idyll.

Ninn-Hansen is not a negligible figure in the Conservative Party. He has always been assigned the "best" time to speak at Conservative national council meetings. Everyone expects the old chief ideologist to deliver a really fiery political speech. Ninn-Hansen did so this time too and the revelation of these threats of political intervention against government critics in the union movement saved the national council meeting from dying of boredom and indifference. It is part of the picture that Ninn-Hansen is the political strategist behind Poul Schluter with lawyer Kristian Mogensen as the real power, working far behind the scenes.

In the middle of the festivities, the banquet at 265 kroner a plate and the Jutland opera, Labor Minister Grethe Fenger Moller broke loose to the extent that her political life may be endangered. The labor minister was given the thankless job of defending the government's budget compromise with the Radical Liberals. Specifically she had to defend the new encroachments on the daily stipend system and the plans to transfer the long-term unemployed to welfare programs after making one training offer. She did not do well, perhaps because she has also been under hard pressure from her own people on this issue. And maybe Prime Minister Poul Schluter will not save Fenger Moller's political life one more time.

Unknown Members of Folketing

The many ordinary Conservative members of Folketing did not bring much creativity or inspiration to the "exalted national council." Many were obviously eager to underline their existence after the government newspaper BT had said that a large part of the 42 Conservative members of parliament are political nonentities who are totally unknown both at Christiansborg and elsewhere. But there was no Conservative/nonsocialist renewal in that quarter. They all made nice trivial speeches about nonsocialist virtues and the citizen's right to freedom.

Absolute Obedience

It is part of the picture that the Conservative Folketing group is run with steely discipline. The Conservative group chairman, retired Colonel Knud Ostergaard demands absolute obedience. And he gets it. Woe to the poor Conservative member of Folketing who does not conform. Special standpoints and unfortunate behavior or clothing are not tolerated. The enormously popular fishing-boat skipper Kent Kirk has found this out in person. The group chairman does not tolerate any deviations. Blind loyalty down the line is what is

required. Primarily to the Conservative cabinet ministers and then to the government coalition partners. The government coalition will not be jeopardized by Conservative members of parliament with deviating viewpoints.

That was also the background for the group chairman's urgent appeal at the national council meeting. "We have political leadership over this country, we have the biggest and best Folketing group we have ever had or that any party has ever had," said Knud Ostergaard, who warned Conservative spokesmen around the country at the same time against "winning cheap victories by disparaging your allies."

Behind all this lurks the fear of a fiasco for the nonsocialist government cooperation. The fear of a repetition of the mistakes of the VKR [Liberal-Conservative-Radical Liberal] government. Whatever happens the nonsocialist government coalition must hold together--under Conservative leadership. No matter what it costs.

6578

CSO: 3613/37

KOHL SEES ASIA AS FOCAL POINT OF FRG FOREIGN POLICY

Bundestag Applauds PRC Visit

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 19 Oct 84 p 1

[Excerpt] Bonn, 18 Oct--The Federal Government wants to make Asia a focal point of its foreign policy. Federal Chancellor Kohl justified this intention in the Bundestag on Thursday by citing the sweeping modernization and opening up of China, for which purpose the country needs partners. The Federal Government has every reason, he said, to respond to this, and it has an interest in seeing that the endeavor of this gigantic country to open up to the outside does not come to nought. His China policy, whose principles Kohl explained in a government policy statement on his talks in Peking, in Pakistan, and with the Romanian government and party leader Ceausescu, is being supported by all the parties in the Bundestag.

In his stocktaking, Kohl highlighted three results: The broadening of the foundations for and extent of German-Chinese cooperation, and the understanding arrived at by the governmental leaders of both countries on gearing their cooperation to the long run and attending to this quite personally. "My visit to the People's Republic of China has set a signpost and elevated our relations to a new level. That is also the judgment of the Chinese leadership," said Kohl. He announced that in addition to the premier, the secretary general of the Chinese communist party, Hu Jiao-pang, is planning a visit to the FRG as well. Kohl further emphasized the agreement of the two countries--between which no critical problems exist, he said--on questions of security policy, the strengthening of Europe, and the national unity of divided countries. Both countries are seeking normal and sensible relations with the Soviet Union, free of threats to their own security and on the basis of complete equality of rights.

Kohl referred to the "excellent results" in the economic sector. The representatives of German industry who accompanied him have been able to effect sales on the order of several billions of marks, or move close to the realization of such sales. The Chancellor emphasized especially that his visit has directly helped to ensure jobs in the FRG and to create new ones.

The SPD deputy fraction chairman Ehmke labeled this last statement as "cheap," but at the same time he lauded the pledge of the Federal

Government to help China in its modernization policy. The SPD deputy also did not dispute the joining of foreign policy and foreign-trade policy and rejected as narrow-minded any criticism with respect to the expenses supposedly being too high for the representatives of German industry who accompanied the chancellor. Ehmke warned against cooperation with China in the arms sector and found fault with the German financial aid of 50 million marks. The SPD would have been prepared to go beyond this sum. The foreign-policy spokesman for the CDU/CSU, Klein, and FDP general secretary Haussmann welcomed this aspiration to intensify German-Chinese cooperation.

Conservative Commentator Guardedly Optimistic

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 13 Oct 84 p 1

[Commentary by Robert Held]

[Excerpts] In an initial careful analysis of the results of the trip, certain squares will remain blank in the questionnaire, since these can be filled in only on the basis of future developments in German-Chinese relations.

The early spring of an economic boom period seems to have begun in China, and its initiators--with the pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin behind them--seem to have nothing else on their minds than to themselves adopt the aggressive capitalistic enterprising spirit of their fellow countrymen in Hong Kong. On the Chinese side, among the shapers of opinion on this change in direction almost every second word is "market" and every third is "technology." But the marketplace is also a question of freedom--and that is something China must decide for itself.

The Germans were invited to assist in this by word and deed, and the German public seems to be discovering only belatedly what an alluring adventure is involved here. It remains an adventure, because nobody can guarantee that the unflagging reforming spirit of the venerable Deng Xiaoping, who in recent times impressed first Helmut Schmidt and then Helmut Kohl with his witty and realistic mind, will be carried on by his successors as well. On all sides contradictions will still be coming to light, and the interests of the established intermediate cadres and the established clientele--let us remember the spirit of the people's communes--will pit themselves against what is new.

Thus the mood of the German business leaders who traveled along was guardedly optimistic. It is true that they viewed with considerable skepticism the programmatically presented optimism of the Federal chancellor (who was thereby also complying with Chinese wishes) to the effect that quite soon relatively adaptable intermediate and small businesses could also find a foothold here: Whoever wants to take part in this will have to have a lot of staying power. Thus the first cooperation agreements, as the contract between VW and China shows, will not exactly be of breathtaking scope. They will be rather cautiously conceived, and thus prudently and modestly formulated, unlike the Brazil contracts of 1975. But in place of this they will be geared to a long, staunch cooperative

effort continuing over a period of decades, which then really is to resemble a business alliance based on trust. Thus despite conflicting ideologies and extremely different forms of government, there are also moral values which are to be incorporated in this commitment. The Federal Chancellor has brought into the picture the good argument that what we have here above all is a cultural encounter in the widest sense.

It is to be hoped that the Social-Democratic opposition will approve of the bold venture and will abide by this approval. Early this year the Chinese were already seeking to convince Brandt and Bahr, and then quite recently Schmidt as well, of the sincerity of their affection for our country, and since this has proved successful it turns out that it was a clever tactical move at the same time.

To be sure, it should be understood that not much hard cash can be gotten for the sake of the delicate position of the FRG through our being accommodating. The Chinese are reserving to themselves their special position vis-a-vis the two superpowers and as a result will not be able to make any special allowances for us if it seems proper to them to propagandistically attack our indispensable ally America just as harshly as they do the Soviet Union. But it seems in any case that their present leadership can be counted on to not needlessly embarrass the FRG, but if anything to discreetly come to our defense against the propaganda barrage from Moscow with respect to people who pay attention to this. Aside from all economic interests, this is the second import of this trip: That it is conducive to a not exactly simple, but rather somewhat complicated way of safeguarding the peace.

Modernization Offers Economic Opportunities

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 13 Oct 84 p 14

[Text] 12 Oct--The German economy has good chances for profiting from the policy of opening up in the People's Republic of China, although in such dealings with China, as much as ever a lot of staying power is needed. This was the view taken by Otto Wolff von Amerongen, chairman of the Eastern Committee of German Industry and president of the Federation of Chambers of German Industry and Commerce (DIHT), in a talk with this newspaper after his return from China. Wolff, who accompanied Federal Chancellor Kohl on his trip together with other representatives from industry, had given warning as far back as 5 years ago--when the Chinese were getting ready for their "great leap" and projects amounting to over \$100 billion were being discussed--against a "China euphoria," and had been right about that. But in the opinion of Wolff, the Chinese have learned from the mistakes made at that time and also have drawn their conclusions from the debt troubles of numerous developing countries and East Bloc states. Although, he said, an increased growth in trade with China can now be expected, nevertheless the pace of modernization in China will move in step with the financing possibilities. At any rate, in the opinion of Wolff von Amerongen, one must look at the considerably improved foreign-trade situation of China compared to that time and the foreign-exchange cushion which it has accumulated by now.

Wolff believes that the present opening up of China could be more lasting than earlier developments of a similar sort. But Wolff stresses that this opening is comprehensive and also includes a normalization of relations with the Soviet Union. What this means for industry is that the Chinese will be very careful to avoid showing favor to any country, so as to not get into any new dependencies. This will also have an effect on the size of the projects which are negotiated with separate countries. He said that although the Japanese have certain advantages because of their nearness to the Chinese market, on the other hand the Chinese definitely have preferences in certain sectors, as is shown in its new cooperation with Volkswagen. According to Wolff, for China what is significant is also the readiness of the Americans to assist the country with know-how in connection with its industrialization. However, here there are still certain irritations concerning American export policy in relation to so-called strategic goods.

For the German economy, Wolff sees special chances in connection with the modernization of Chinese industry. He said that the Chinese have learned that one can promote development not only by means of new major projects in the open countryside, but more lastingly and at the same time more cheaply through making use of existing resources. In China there are about 400,000 antiquated factories, and for the modernization of these attractive opportunities present themselves, above all for relatively small German businesses as well. "Here the Chinese seem to regard us as better than the Japanese, because of our experience with reconstruction," says Wolff. If small-scale industry succeeds in entering this field, business with China will depend less on major projects and at the same time it will be more crisis-proof.

In addition to our already constantly expanding machinery exports to China, Wolff also sees chances for mining equipment, the power-plant projects discussed in recent days, the well-known steel project, as well as automobile manufacturing along with subcontractors' supplies, and possibly even chances for the European commercial airplane "Airbus." But Wolff warns again and again: "This will not come all at once."

Wolff's impression is that the Chinese are hoping also to attract German and other Western capital to the country to an increased extent. The investment-promotion agreement and the convention for the avoidance of double taxation with the FRG could bring further advances in this respect. On the credit question, in the opinion of Wolff the Chinese are less interested in commercial credits than they are in cheap development loans. On this score China enjoys the international status of a developing country, and in recent times it has sought funds especially from the International Development Agency. It also wants to obtain borrowing from the Asian Development Bank.

Amerongen Warns Against Illusions

Duesseldorf *HANDELSBLATT* in German 10 Oct 84 p 13

[Text] Beijing, Oct 9--The political talks of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Beijing have set a "new milestone" in the history of German-Chinese

relations; but it has not created "any new era." This opinion was voiced by the chairman of the Eastern Committee of German Industry and president of the Federation of Chambers of German Industry and Commerce, Otto Wolff von Amerongen, in a discussion with HANDELSBLATT in Peking.

According to Wolff, the FRG will be fully included as well by the People's Republic of China in its new opening-up policy, but this is understood as applying to all countries, and it is not allowing any country to play a special role. Peking no longer wants to depend on any country, either politically or economically, he said.

Incidentally, the chairman of the Eastern Committee believes that the Soviet Union as well will be gradually included again in this opening-up policy. Be that as it may, in the estimate of the DIHT president we can definitely expect an upswing in economic exchanges between the FRG and the People's Republic of China.

Wolff justified this prediction by citing his conviction that the Chinese policy of opening up is not a temporary phase, but will be lasting. This political and economic opening up no longer depends on only one person such as the architect of post-revolutionary China, Deng Xiaoping. Now because of this opening up already so many circumstances have been created that an about-face no longer seems conceivable.

Also material to an encouraging prediction as to the future of German-Chinese relations is the realization apparently reached by Peking that the continuity of the FRG's China policy will continue to be guaranteed by the government in Bonn.

Even though Wolff von Amerongen discerns positive prospects for German industry in business with China, nevertheless he warns against illusions. It would be a misjudgment to assume that German industry will get preferential treatment in China. In this connection as well, the intention of Peking to not place itself in any dependent situation must be taken into account.

Decentralization Does not Work Miracles

For the long run, the chairman of the Eastern Committee of German Industry expects new chances in China not only for heavy industry, but also for relatively small-scale businesses in the FRG. In the wake above all of certain major projects which are expected, for example in coal mining, medium-sized enterprises have good prospects of being given a chance as subcontractors, with this taking the form especially of joint-venture formations.

Wolff mentioned as a particularly useful field of activity for medium-scale businesses the modernization of old Chinese enterprises, for example in the textile or shoe industry. Such a "re-investment policy" is more promising than capital expenditures "in the undeveloped countryside," he said.

However, the DIHT president warned against expecting great things for German investors from the intended extensive decentralization of the Chinese planned economy. Certainly more rapid decisions than hitherto can be expected now and then on the Chinese side, he said.

Yet it must not be forgotten, he said, that protracted decision-making processes are a part of the Chinese mentality and do not, for example, spring from a peculiarity of Chinese communists. This has had to be taken into account for decades now when doing business in China. "Here one must have a lot of staying power," stressed Wolff von Amerongen.

The DIHT president was critical of the slow-moving negotiations on a convention for the avoidance of double taxation. Through this, competitive disadvantages would arise for German businesses, he said. As for the rest, the instruments are in place for helping German businessmen with implementing their investments.

Finally, Wolff warned against an exaggerated fear in the West that industrial cooperation and the technology transfer desired above all by China will lead to a dangerous loss in technological advantage and will encourage military-strategic lines of thought, for example in the nuclear sector.

Sooner or later modern technology will reach every country and will become common knowledge, he said. The attempt at a "reverse protectionism" will miscarry, said the DIHT president with reference to corresponding American efforts. Federal Chancellor Kohl seems to be sharing in these efforts for political reasons, he said.

12114
3620/63

OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON POLICY TOWARD REFUGEES

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 7 Nov 84 p 9

[Article by Margit Silberstein: "Annually Only 20 Refugees to Finland; for related material see "Nordic Countries Worried About New Wave of Near East Refugees" in JPRS-WFR-84-150, 10 Dec 84, pp 5-18]

[Text] Before March 1984 Finland had no legislation governing aliens. And the legislation which has now taken effect is not used very much. For Finland has hardly any refugees. Only around twenty persons annually arrive at the Finnish border to ask for asylum.

"We are known for our strict line," says Risto Veijalainen, chief of the aliens office of the Ministry of the Interior, as one of several reasons why so few choose Finland as a country of asylum.

Other reasons pointed out by Veijalainen are Finland's geographical location and the fact that the language is difficult to learn.

"Another explanation may be that we have Sweden as our neighbor, and you have a very liberal legislation. As far as we can evaluate the situation from here, it appears as if even you in Sweden have reached the level of tolerance. The possibility of getting asylum is, of course, also misused. Imagine if millions of people would flee from their countries--although that, of course, is a philosophical question," says Veijalainen in his pensive Finnish-Swedish.

Secret Statistics

[Question] How many of the well over twenty persons who seek asylum in Finland are rejected?

[Answer] I have got no statistics on that. Even if I did have it, you would not have got it as it is secret. We do not even reveal the nationality of those who seek asylum, Risto Veijalainen stated, with reference, among other things, to the good of the person seeking asylum.

Sensitive Issue

The policy toward refugees in our eastern neighboring country is an extremely sensitive issue. Recognizing somebody as a political refugee, of course, is

a most sensitive matter. If the home country is the Soviet Union, the matter does not become less sensitive.

Amnesty International in Finland some time ago published a very critical report on the Finnish refugee policy. Amnesty reported concrete cases where Soviet citizens sought asylum in Finland and were sent back to the Soviet Union where they were sentenced to many years of work camp. To sum up the matter, Amnesty did not, however, accuse Finland of treating refugees from the Soviet Union worse than others. According to Amnesty, Finland, on the whole, treats refugees in a disobliging and inhospitable manner, regardless where they come from.

"Unobjective criticism"

Amnesty's report led to a discussion in the parliament where, among others, Georg Ehnrooth, M.P. (Constitutional Right Party) asked the foreign minister whether it would be possible to adapt a more liberal and humane interpretation to refugee questions.

To that question and other subsequent questions, the foreign minister answered more or less in the same way, viz. that Finland adheres to the Geneva Convention "in the proper manner."

"Unfortunately, we cannot do anything to prevent people from writing about our measures and, moreover, making inobjective and unfounded remarks," Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrinen stated in the Finnish parliament.

Offense to Flee

In the Geneva Convention, which Finland maintains that it adheres to, it is stated that people who risk persecution in their home country for political reasons, among other things, shall have the right to protection in another country. When it comes to countries such as the Soviet Union and also other East state countries, it is a breach in itself to flee from one's country, flight from republic is a term that is used.

Finland, however, does not find that punishment for illegal crossing of a border is to be considered as political persecution in the sense which the Geneva Convention has in mind. That is why refugees from the countries in the East are sent back to their home countries.

It is against that background that Sweden did not send back the Estonian couple Valdi Randpere and Leila Miller who fled from Estonia via Finland to Sweden. In accordance with the first principle of asylum, Sweden would be in a position to return refugees from the East who arrived in Sweden via Finland. Even if it is not said openly in Sweden, the reason why Sweden does not do it is the awareness that refugees in Finland risk being returned to the home country.

"If Sweden wants to give asylum to the Estonian couple, it is up to Sweden. Actually, I do not want to comment on the matter. We do not find that it is

obvious that one is a refugee because one comes from a socialist country. That is not sufficient indication that one is dissatisfied with the system," Risto Veijalainen says.

30,000 Residents

Even if Finland has few political refugees and appears to prefer not to have any at all, there are approximately 30,000 immigrants in Finland. They have emigrated to Finland for other reasons than persecution in the home country.

The largest groups are from the United States, Great Britain, West Germany and the Soviet Union. They have come to Finland through connection in the country or on account of special professional skills.

Recently, Finland also received 40 Vietnamese refugees. In total, there are 300 Vietnamese in Finland.

7262

CSO: 3650/57

CGT, CFDT DEVELOP OPPOSITE STRATEGIES

Paris LE MONDE in French 6 Nov 84 p 36

[Article by Michel Noblecourt: "Trade Union Strategies and Flexibility; CGT, CFDT: Two Opposite Ways of Thinking"]

[Text] Unity of action among trade union confederations has, for all practical purposes, fallen into disuse. The CGT [General Confederation of Labor] and CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor] have not convened a summit meeting since 27 September 1982. The former talks about unity while wishing for a tightening up of its "basic" positions in the professional branches and the enterprises. The latter understands it as being only a variable factor bearing on specific goals and bringing trade union pluralism into play. Thus, the CFDT responded positively to the CGC's [General Confederation of Managerial Personnel] proposal to hold a trade union "mini-summit" on labor, whereas the CGT and FO [Workers Force] refused and the CFTC [French Confederation of Christian Workers] is hesitating. In situations in which unity is achieved at all costs, it has been observed that, whether Renault, Creusot-Loire or civil service are involved, it barely conceals differences or even opposite ulterior motives.

People no longer fight for unity of action, but at the same time neither do they argue as they used to when the CGT-CFDT controversy over unity of action was at its highest point. In the interview published in LE MONDE, Henri Krasucki abstained from making any critical judgment concerning the CFDT stand even though some of the top CGT leaders declared that "Maire stands to Bergeron's right." Sometimes, each union seems to retreat on its own position, for lack of a better alternative. Meanwhile, however, extreme antagonism is replacing the already sharp differences between the CGT and the CFDT. Two examples illustrate this situation.

Henri Krasucki and Edmond Maire thus unfolded in the columns of LE MONDE two courses of action which are not only different but also opposite when it comes to their strategic policy and the important negotiation on flexibility (which resumed on 5 November). Even though his position is far from being supported by facts, the CGT secretary general asserts that "The labor world is really beginning to say no." Over and over again he calls for an all-out mobilization emphasizing that this movement is aimed at the CNPF [National Council of French Employers] but "Is also intended for the government." For the benefit of the wage earners he says: "They will not believe it as long as you fail to be the

most powerful element in the trade union movement." According to Krasucki, there were disagreements with the government, which suffers the pressure of French and international capitalism, before the communist ministers left, but "They even increased."

Strategic Disagreement

In order to protect its internal cohesion, the CGT refuses to assess the government politically; avoid talking about the "socialist power;" and does not endorse the idea launched by the PC of a "new majority rally intended for the people." However, it elaborates on an analysis which parallels that of the Communist Party. In its draft resolution for the 25th congress, which is to take place a few months before that of the CGT, the PC declares for example that "Struggles can alone break open the doors and are capable of altering decisions." It points out that, following the European elections, "The negative political trend which the voters had just confirmed has been maintained, if not increased" and that "The Socialist Party has turned the government's policy in the direction wanted by the capitalist forces. Krasucki is careful not to blame the Socialist Party, but he expresses the same criticism against the government as does the PC.

Revision of Gains

Edmond Maire advances an entirely different action (his opponents say "inaction") strategy. Although he severely chastised the government for its attitude during the discussions pertaining to civil service wages and he was the first, in LE MONDE of 21 August, to express his concern over Fabius' leaning toward "liberalism, even if it is enlightened," he refuses to challenge the government's overall policy. As for the CFDT, the time is clearly not yet ripe to call for the demise of the socialist power. At the end of the last national council, and despite the opposition of Hacuitex, the regional unions of Basse-Normandie and Champagne-Ardenne and a segment of the banking and equipment sectors, it rejected the strategy of a "general uniform mobilization against the state and management" and "any shifting of trade union action for the sole purpose of political dissension."

To this strategic difference is added the basic disagreement with the CNPF concerning the way in which the job flexibility negotiation should be tackled. The problem of the right-to-work amendment is at the center of this discussion, a situation which presupposes the possible revision of certain social gains.

Already on 7 September Jean Kaspar, speaking for the CFDT, had made overtures toward management concerning differentials and ceilings for social benefits, which prompted a sharp reply from Louis Viannet, the CGT's No 2 man, who accused him of playing into the hands of the CNPF. As it stands, there is no question for the CGT to play into the hand of management whose proposals concerning job flexibility are rejected as a whole in favor of a platform aimed, on the contrary, at increasing and expanding social guarantees and protections. Krasucki quite clearly expressed his views on this subject in his interview to LE MONDE: The reassessment of gains is "Impractical and would lead to disaster." For the trade union leader, the CNPF's demands--"A substantial reduction of the buying power and the repeal of some social and collective guarantees acquired during decades of trade

union action"--would simply and purely lead to a "setback of civilization." There is, therefore, no possible compromise on this issue.

The Search for a Compromise

At the risk of reviving his opponents' objection by using that theme, Edmond Maire declared in his LE MONDE articles that he did not want to hear about this "curt no." While criticizing the archaism of management's proposals which are "Diametrically opposed to history," he supports a broad approach policy and a search for compromise. In his opinion, trade unionism "Loses its credibility" if it maintains a defensive attitude; "It shows that it is not ready to tackle the full extent of the changes."

Pleading for wage earners' mobility and versatility and faced with the diversification of their aspirations for "A dynamic interpretation of the labor contract," Maire hammers in the point: It involves searching for "Interim solutions" between the "Total precariousness of unemployment" and "Stable and guaranteed work." Accepting, like the CGT, a negotiated flexibility and claiming to be ready to substitute contracts for legislation in some sectors, he advocates a "New review of traditional trade union practices" in small enterprises "Where the trade union movement makes the best of circumstances and learns to defend better its millions of wage earners; where it gradually falls back on the shrinking benefits of wage earners in large enterprises and administrations and lets the gap between the two types of wages grow larger."

Two opposite concepts of trade unionism are thus clashing and gaining ground. The CGT does not obviously intend falling back on the large enterprises and the administrations with their industrial strongholds. As far as it is concerned, it would be suicidal when reorganization is under way. However, it is defending itself precisely because it is aware, through the automobile, steel, mining and shipyard industries, of being attacked where it is still in a position of strength. While knowing it cannot shrug off the issue of a changing trade unionism, it develops a triple defense. On a national level, it criticizes the disasters brought on by the economic policy trends of management and, on the rebound, the government. It then constantly calls for action in order to prevent an industrial "fray," economic downfall and political failure. Finally, it is taking a firmer and firmer stand on the industrial alternative, by giving itself, if need be, the security of "universal suffrage," and it is even trying to intervene in the management of enterprises. In that context, trade unionism believes that any compromise affecting social guarantees would be equivalent to triggering a series of events leading to a decline. It is from a position of strength securely defended that CGT envisions broadening the scope of its trade unionism.

A New Challenge

As for Maire, he sees trade unionism as an evolution, if not a change. In that respect, he is consistent with his April 1984 report on the revision of trade unionism in which he wholeheartedly called for "A trade unionism of change which gives as much importance to proposals and experimentation as to dissention." Wanting to take into account, without giving it up for lost, the explosion of the wage earning classes and their diversity, he wants to share, through

negotiations, in the "metamorphosis of the conditions of production." It is a gamble which partially answers the new challenge tossed at trade unionism: From 1976 to 1983, did not the percentage of wage earners working in enterprises with less than 50 employees increased from 43.1 to 49.1 percent whereas in enterprises of more than 500 employees, it dropped from 20.6 to 16.5 percent? In this new trade union climate, it would not be surprising to see the CGT and the CFDT opposing each other more and more, the former finding it advocates the same basic position as Workers Force, the latter getting unremittingly closer to the CGC and the CFTC fluctuating between a defensive course of action and an evolutionist approach.

6857

CSO: 3519/113

LEADERS URGED TO PARTICIPATE IN REVIVING WEU

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 7 Nov 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Norway and Europe"]

[Text] Norway's Europe policy has never been in the "forefront" of developments. On the contrary, it is important events in the rest of West Europe which on several occasions forced Norway to take a stand. Thus it was with the three Norwegian EC debates in the wake of British applications for membership in the community; we experienced the same thing when the currency pilfering was established, and when Norway decided to keep itself totally outside the European currency system--the EMS. Norway is lying low in the slow and undramatic evolution of Europe, and the debate is dead.

Therefore, it does not come as any surprise that our parliamentary leaders and other prominent politicians during the Europe movement's seminar last weekend documented a mixture of ignorance and lacking interest in the attempts of recent times to instill new life into the West European Union. With laconic frankness, at least, the Conservative Party's parliamentary leader, Jo Benkow, put his finger right on the phenomenon by alluding to the fact that the Europe question at best is uninteresting as far as Norwegian public opinion is concerned today. We for our part have to just acknowledge that the situation */is/* [in italics] so, but also assert that the lack of political leadership which became the norm during the EC controversy is manifesting itself.

The slender interest in the West European Union here at home is due to the fact that it is now obvious to all that we are near the end of the road in attempts to further develop Norwegian special contact with the European Political Coalition--EPC. The attempts to instill new life into the West European Union, which consists of the six original EC countries and Great Britain, therefore automatically created the idea of a new Norwegian angle of thinking in our European policy. The communique from the West European Union meeting in Rome recently gave a clear invitation to the other European NATO countries to show greater interest. From Norwegian party leaders the answer was almost a yawn.

No one can say with certainty today to what extent Norwegian attachment to the West European Union is a practicable approach in the further development of

our Europe policy. On the other hand, the communique from the Rome meeting has provided a challenge which we have to react to. An expanded and more active West European Union can force us to take a stand, according to the traditional Norwegian formula, as we pointed out by way of introduction.

The ordinary foreign policy debates are poorly suited to discussing such questions. Regardless of what the foreign affairs minister has planned, these will concentrate on what took place within the last week somewhere in the world. Therefore, the time has long since come for the Storting to discuss developments in Europe over recent years on the basis of a separate Storting report from the government. Today we need a concentrated and thoroughly prepared status summary of the main lines of development of the European coalition, an account of the effects of this for transatlantic relations and for Europe's role in relations between the superpowers. With such a Storting report our debate can have a firmer footing and be more realistic.

8985

CSO: 3639/26

PSOE PERFORMANCE JUDGED AGAINST ELECTORAL PROMISES

Madrid YA (supplement) in Spanish 21 Oct 84 pp 3-4

[Text] During the 1982 election campaign, the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] offered "100 proposals for change." Now, 2 years later, the YA editorial staff has checked these proposals one by one, in order to determine the PSOE's record of performance. NATO and unemployment seem to be the black marks on its record, though the PSOE has kept its election promises on a large part of the points analyzed below.

Employment

1. Creation of 800,000 jobs in 4 years.

In September 1982 there were 1,870,200 people recorded as out of work in Spain. At the end of that year, the figure rose to 2,150,900. A year later, it was 2,342,300, and the latest data from 1984--from August--estimate unemployment at 2,449,000 people. This is considered to be the PSOE's worst failure.

2. Maintenance of purchasing power of wages.

In 1983 the workers lost 3 points in purchasing power. In 1984 the average increase was 7.7 percent (the inflation forecast is 8 percent, although it is expected to go up to 9 percent). The 1985-86 AES [Economic and Social Agreement] contains wage increases for the next 2 years, with the inflation level expected to be within the salary range.

3. Doubling the state's contribution to Social Security.

This contribution has been increasing every year by about 1.5 percent. In 1982 the state's contribution was 14.96 percent; in 1983, 17.09; in 1984 it was 20.15 percent. In 1985 it will be 21.34 percent.

4. Retirement at age 64, to be followed by further reductions.

This decision has been postponed, because it costs 60 billion pesetas to reduce the retirement age by 1 year. There is a formula in the AES to reduce this little by little, through collective bargaining and by replacing 61-year-old workers with young people out of work.

5. Full education until the age of 16. Promoting the continuation of education until the age of 18, giving priority to job-related training.

This is awaiting trials of the midlevel education reform, which includes plans for a common section with material for the BUP [expansion unknown], the FP [expansion unknown], and technological instruction.

6. A 40-hour workweek, with 30 days of vacation a year. Support for new reductions in labor agreements.

The reduction in the workweek went into effect in September 1983, although a 40-hour workweek did not become standard until January 1984. It would be difficult to incorporate any further reductions in working hours, since the unions are unwilling to allow this to be accompanied by a wage reduction, which is what the businessmen want.

Agriculture

7. Government aid for family farms, small and midsized farms that initiate improvement plans.

Its practical application is scattered among different areas of official policy; its practical repercussions still remain to be seen.

8. Application of the "Manifestly Improvable Farms" Law.

Today the situation is practically identical to what it was at the start of the legislature: this law is not being implemented. We must add, though, in defense of the ministry of agriculture, fisheries, and food, that its authority in this specific area is being transferred to the autonomous communities.

9. Progressive adjustment of agricultural unemployment to match the general unemployment system.

To date the annual payments have been increased from 13 to 14. The PER [Rural Employment Plan] establishes the right to unemployment compensation for casual workers (permanent workers already had this right) who have accumulated over 60 days' work during the previous year. They will receive 75 percent of the minimum interoccupational wage (public assistance level) for a maximum of 180 days.

10. Social Security payments and services to the rural population on an equal basis with other sectors.

At this time agricultural workers receive the same payments and services as those in the general health care system. There are significant differences in the amount for pensions, because in the vast majority of cases, the level of contributions was the minimum amount.

Fishing

11. Reform of commercial fishing structures, eliminating middlemen and promoting the formation of cooperatives.

Practically nothing concrete has been done in terms of eliminating middlemen. The promotion of cooperatives is included in several provisions issued in the last few months. The setting of a guaranteed support price for certain fish species is an undeniable aid in reforming commercial structures.

12. Unemployment insurance for all unemployed fishermen.

This was approved for deepsea fishermen in September 1982 by the Calvo Sotelo government, and it was published in the BOE [Official State Gazette] in October of that year. Coastal fishermen already had this benefit. Those who work on ships with gross registry weight under 20 tons are considered independent; they do not contribute for unemployment compensation, and thus are not entitled to this benefit.

Energy

13. Nationalization of the primary electricity transmission network.

Nationalization began with the 6 May 1983 signing of a protocol of agreement between the government and the electricity companies. Parliament is now working on the bill on the unified operation of the national electricity system.

14. Orderly stoppage of the nuclear program now underway.

On 28 March 1984 the council of ministers approved the PEN [National Energy Plan], which calls for stopping work on the Valdecaballeros I and II and Trillo II nuclear power plants. The PEN calls for a generating capacity of 7,600 MW for 1992. This is considered optimum, based on demand forecasts. It implies not starting service at another five power plants now under construction.

Scientific Policy

15. Double research and testing resources in 4 years.

Overall, investments have risen in the past 2 years by 13 and 24 percent, so that if this arithmetic increase continues during the time remaining of this legislature, this objective will be attained.

Small and Midsized Business

16. Access of PYMES [Small and Midsized Businesses] to state supplies and contracts, and to public markets.

Granting them a credit line of several million pesetas is not sufficient to satisfy the normal aspirations of small businessmen.

17. Support the cooperative movement and cooperation between businesses.

The government has not yet kept this promise in any clear way, since the necessary framework, the general law on cooperatives, has still not been passed.

Prices

18. Control inflation.

During its first year in office, it managed to reduce inflation to 12.2 percent, that is, by almost 2 points. For the current fiscal year the objective was to bring the inflation rate down to 8 percent, but the forecast has been modified, bringing it up to 9 percent. The PSOE is managing to reduce inflation, though not as quickly as planned.

19. Control prices of public services and essential goods.

The food price index during the first 8 months of 1984 increased at an annual rate of 15 percent, while the nonfood price index rose at a rate of 10.4 percent. Public services have also been affected by this rising price trend.

Financial Policy

20. Reduce interest rates for loans.

Theoretically, the government has managed to reduce interest rates for loans, as a result of the agreement signed by the governor of the Bank of Spain and the president of the AEB [expansion unknown]. But in practice, this step has more psychological than real value, for the reduction of these interest rates only affects preferential loans, that is, a very limited number of operations.

21. Work to halt fraud in bankruptcies and suspensions of payments.

The government has prepared a bankruptcy bill that has still not been sent to Congress.

Banking

22. When necessary, exercise the option of having the state purchase banks in a state of crisis, which have been restored to a sound footing with public funds.

The only such nationalization could be considered the one done indirectly through the 25 percent participation of the Banco Exterior in the group acquiring the Banco Atlantico.

Savings Institutions

23. Increase the public service nature of savings institutions and make them more democratic. Their activities will be restricted to their demographic position.

The council of ministers has already studied the bill on governing organs for savings institutions. There are some doubts about whether, with their new operating system, it may really be feasible to increase their public service nature.

Public Sector

24. Improve efficiency in the public sector and control spending with a management auditing system.

The General State Intervention Service has done a good deal of auditing and supervision of spending in various state administrative organizations. Nonetheless, it has still been necessary to have many of these management audits done by private firms.

Tax Reform

25. Work to eliminate tax evasion and fraud.

This has been one of the administration's economic team's biggest successes. One reference figure: during the first 8 months of 1984, the inspection service uncovered a tax debt amounting to 100 billion pesetas.

26. Reinforce the progressive nature of taxes, in order to help low income groups, people living on pensions, and families.

There has been improved treatment for lower income groups. An example of this was raising the income threshold at which it is necessary to file an income tax return from 300,000 to 500,000 pesetas. People living on pensions with incomes under 500,000 are exempt from any withholding. An improved tax treatment for families has been postponed until some future time.

Public Enterprise

27. Streamline public enterprise to improve efficiency. Professionalize its management positions, and apply an "incompatibility" system.

This is one of the pending items, since losses have not been halted, nor has management been improved. In addition, officials in firms which have not complied with improvement objectives have not been removed, despite the warnings issued.

Labor Relations

28. Strengthen representation of workers in business through company committees and union sections.

The organic law on Union Freedom will adjust the prerogatives of committees and union sections. Their representation will be expanded through union participation in public enterprise. This topic will be dealt with during the next few months.

29. Application of collective bargaining to all workers.

The percentage of workers covered by collective bargaining agreements remains stabilized at 50 percent of the active employed population.

30. Strike Law.

This is one of the bills still "stuck" in the ministry of labor.

31. Union Freedom Law.

The two most common criticisms of this law are that it boosts the status of the two major unions and the two autonomous unions; there is also criticism of the extension of the term of union delegates from 2 to 4 years.

32. Resolution of problem of union property.

Some real estate properties have been turned over to the major unions, and in the AES the government pledged to draft a law to distribute the accumulated union property in the form of usufruct. The "historic" issue is still an unknown factor.

Social Security

33. Gradual inclusion of all workers now outside the general system in the General Social Security System.

Some groups still remain outside the system, such as government employees; along with attorneys, they will be brought into the general system in the near future.

34. Provide medical care for all citizens of Spain through a national health service.

The universalization of free medical care is a constitutional mandate scheduled to be put in operation in January 1988.

35. Maintain the purchasing power of retired persons by means of a law providing automatic pension adjustments.

Since the PSOE took office, pension increases have been equal to the inflation forecast; minimum pensions have increased the most, and the greatest decline in purchasing power has been for people receiving larger pensions.

36. Increase the efficiency and quality of Social Security services.

One of the negotiating items from the AES, designed to deal with the Social Security reform, is to set up a program for improving assistance and services.

Protection for the Unemployed

37. Provide basic compensation for unemployment between 6 and 24 months, guaranteeing an amount equal to the minimum interoccupational wage.

This expansion in unemployment benefits, both in time and in minimum compensation, took effect with the entry in force of the Unemployment Protection Law on 2 August 1984.

38. Replace community employment by another system of protection for unemployed farm workers.

Protection for unemployed casual farm workers is covered in the PER. To be entitled to agrarian unemployment benefits--75 percent of the minimum wage for a maximum of 180 days in the year--the worker must have worked and contributed to the system for 60 days.

Education

39. Provide financing for education, giving priority to the sectors most in need.

The LODE [expansion unknown] calls for giving priority in state financing to centers handling real educational needs.

40. Encourage the participation of parents, teachers, and students in the control and operation of centers receiving public funding.

This is stipulated in the LODE, but it is still awaiting a ruling from the Constitutional Court.

University

41. University Autonomy Law.

This law was promulgated in July 1983.

Culture

42. Ensure the development of all languages and cultures of Spain.

These responsibilities have been transferred to the autonomous communities.

43. Stimulate national cultural activities, avoiding cultural dependence on other countries.

In general, this has been quite limited.

[44 missing]

45. New structure for the CSD [Superior Sports Council].

The CSD's reorganization will not be undertaken until the autonomous transfers have been completed.

46. Construction and management of sports facilities and expansion of physical education programs in education.

The existing program has been maintained in new sports facilities.

Housing

47. Promote the construction of 400,000 housing units a year.

During 1983, 227,051 housing units were built. From January to June of 1984, 99,164 units were completed. The 1984-1987 4-year plan sets a construction target of 250,000 units for each year.

Health

48. Improve hospital management in order to control costs and the quality of services provided. Enforce compliance with regulations on schedules and "incompatibilities."

Work is now in progress to computerize hospital management control. Efforts are being made to improve control of resources (entailing savings of about 30 billion pesetas) and to hire management specialists in major medical centers.

49. Freedom for a patient to choose his or her own doctor under Social Security for general medicine, pediatrics, and obstetrics-gynecology.

This has been extended to the entire population covered, though the choice is restricted to the staff of each clinic. The General Health Law does include the possible selection of specialists.

50. Work to reduce the "mass production" atmosphere in office visits by clinic patients, and increase the amount of time spent with each patient.

Despite such efforts, these visits continue to be impersonal.

Women

51. Eliminate job discrimination, especially discrimination against women employed in household and domestic work.

Nothing has been done.

52. Make family planning services available in Social Security centers and in the public health system.

In 1984, 48 family planning centers were established.

53. Establish nursery schools.

A rough draft on such a plan has been completed.

Youth

54. Program to increase youth employment. Encourage the use of replacement contracts, allowing young people to gradually replace the population close to retirement age.

This program, like the replacement contracts, was first dealt with in the reform of the Workers Statute, which took effect on 2 August 1984. Such programs have been included in decrees issued under the AES.

55. Military service in the region of origin, whenever defense requirements allow such a possibility. A gradual reduction in the duration of military service.

Aside from the lottery drawing in November, a program involving more than 25 percent regionalization will be used. The length of service has already been cut by 3 months.

56. Creation of Spain's Youth Council.

This was established by the law of 16 November 1983.

Elderly

57. Create geriatric and gerontology services. Make a health benefits card for the elderly available to all retired persons.

The first point is still in the planning stage for the majority of the potential beneficiaries.

58. Start a system of minimum pensions for old age and disability.

Minimum pensions have had a much bigger increase than the rest, but they have still not caught up with the minimum interoccupational wage.

59. Make it possible for the elderly to be cared for in their own homes.

This is still in the stage of good intentions.

Emigration

60. Emigration Law providing protection for emigrants from the time they leave Spain until they return. Agreements with the EEC to help emigrants.

Drafting of this law has still not begun. The agreements with the EEC are part of the package being negotiated for our membership in the EEC.

Environment

61. Work to reduce air and water pollution by limiting polluting emissions and promoting the use of clean technologies.

Inability to move the projected Environmental Protection Law forward.

62. Actions to prevent the dumping of nuclear wastes in the oceans and areas close to the Spanish seacoast.

The government has categorically opposed this practice. There is now a moratorium in effect on the dumping of radioactive wastes in the North Atlantic, while an international commission of specialists is studying its possible effects.

Consumers

63. Consumer Protection Law.

The bill the government sent to the Cortes was passed on 19 July 1984; it will take effect when the corresponding regulations have been prepared.

64. Quality control of products, and penalties for fraud.

The Consumer Protection Law contains a series of requirements designed to ensure product quality.

65. Protection of consumers from fraudulent and misleading contracts.

Chapter VII of the Consumer Protection Law provides such protection.

Legislative Development

66. Development of the rights and freedoms recognized by the Constitution.

Laws have been promulgated on the right to hold meetings, the right to asylum and refugee status, "habeas corpus," reforms in legal assistance for a person arrested, conscientious objection and alternative social service; the funding procedure is now being worked out.

67. Regulation of conscientious objection.

Parliament has already approved such a regulation.

68. Elimination of restrictions on freedom of expression, regulation of the conscience clause and professional secrecy for journalists, and facilitation of the right of response.

The right of correction has been regulated, but the other commitments related to freedom of expression are still pending.

69. Development of the popular legislative initiative.

This was instituted by the law of 27 March.

70. Participation of citizens in the process of justice, by serving on juries.

This is to be left until after the organic law on Judicial Authority is passed, so it may take a long time.

71. Elected justices of the peace.

Justices of the peace are covered in Articles 110 to 115 of the organic bill on Judicial Authority, now being worked on by the Cortes.

72. Judicial protection from illegal detentions and arrests. Avoid mistreatment or torture of arrested persons.

To deal with illegal detentions, organic law 6/84 was issued on 24 May, regulating "habeas corpus" procedures. The crime of torture is covered in Article 204 of the Penal Code.

73. Make legal assistance available to all persons arrested.

Organic law 14/83 of 12 December developed Article 17.3 of the Constitution on the subject of legal assistance for arrested persons and prisoners, and modified Articles 520 and 527 of the Criminal Prosecution Law.

[74 missing]

75. Age of criminal liability to be set at 18.

Legal age, for the purposes of exemption from criminal liability, continues to be 17, although attenuating circumstances are taken into consideration.

76. Repeal the Social Danger Law.

The Social Danger and Rehabilitation Law of 4 August 1970 still remains in effect at this time.

77. Regulate the interruption of pregnancy in situations such as danger to the mother's life, a risk of birth with severe physical or psychological pathologies, and in cases resulting from rape, with all due respect for the free decision of the individual involved.

The law that is to regulate the voluntary interruption of pregnancy in these three instances was passed by the Cortes, and is now pending a ruling by the Constitutional Court.

78. Justice will be free.

The reform of the Civil Prosecution Law, published last August, includes making justice costs free for persons who give evidence of insufficient income, and in any case, for persons whose income is not twice the minimum interoccupational salary.

79. Avoid accumulating a backlog of persons held under preventive detention, and plan for the construction of penitential facilities to provide relief for overcrowding in present prisons.

The reform of Articles 503 and 504 of the Criminal Prosecution Law released 5,202 prisoners. In February of this year five new centers were opened, and another 10 prison facilities are scheduled to be opened this year, with a total of 5,085 spaces available.

Citizens' Safety

80. Guarantee citizens' safety, on the basis that liberty and safety are complementary.

In the words of Spain's attorney general, "the widespread social climate of insecurity that can be inferred from comments and information appears to be justified by the 650,000 crimes against property committed in Spain during 1983."

81. Maintenance of the state's authority, by preventing activities that are anti or unconstitutional.

On occasions, especially attributable to HB [expansion unknown] in the Basque country, the state's authority has been ignored and the Constitution abused.

82. Work against terrorism, making greater use of both human and material resources.

There has been some success in the international political area, but little evidence of much improvement inside Spain.

Defense

83. Create a more independent and sovereign national defense force with a more fully operational FAS [Strategic Air Force?] and an improved system of materiel procurement from our national military industry.

The three branches of the service are gradually complying with plans such as the army modernization plan, participation in international arms plans, and the expansion of our national defense industry.

84. Transform the present territorial military organization into a more operational system and reform military instruction programs, adapting them to constitutional principles.

The first proposal was put in operation with the application of the META [expansion unknown] plan; the second will be further delayed unless it is approved before the end of this legislature.

Public Administration

85. Simplify red tape and reduce time limits for matters pending with the administration.

Some norms have been issued by the ministry of the presidency, but a new administrative procedures law is still pending.

86. Establish a general system of "incompatibilities."

Those for parliamentarians have been regulated, and the law to regulate different general "incompatibilities" for the Senate in various public administrations is still pending.

87. Law on bases of the civil service for application to all public officials.

This is already being applied.

88. Set up a real administrative career system, reduce fragmentation into different units and scales, and handle promotions of public officials by public merit competitions.

Officials have not yet taken a definite stand in favor of this proposal, nor can the public yet see its benefits.

89. Compliance with schedules in the administration.

It seems obvious that the system of magnetic cards and files has produced results.

Autonomy

90. Encourage transfers to Autonomous Communities, while preventing any major upsurge in personnel costs.

This process is nearing the point of culmination, though less so in the Basque country, where transfers are blocked, but the "financial impact" of autonomous financing is causing an increase in public spending.

91. Approve the pending Autonomy Statutes.

Only those for Ceuta and Melilla are still pending.

92. Proper application of the financing system provided in the Constitution to ensure sufficient resources for the Autonomous Communities and maintain solidarity.

The entire system will be applied for the first time to all the budgets next year, but both the state and the autonomous communities have become aware of the need to change the system to ensure solidarity.

Local Administration

93. Local Administration Law that will boost the authority and autonomy of local entities.

After a year of preparation, discussions of the law began in Congress this week.

Foreign Policy

94. Promote peace, disarmament, and detente, and cooperate to attain a more just international economic order.

The socialist government, aware of its limitations in promoting its own initiatives, has agreed to support a policy leading to the elimination of military blocs.

95. Keep Spain's territory as a nuclear-free zone.

It rejects the basing of nuclear weapons in Spain, but does tolerate the entry into Spanish ports of U.S. warships using nuclear power and carrying atomic weapons on board. It has not signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

96. Support peoples fighting for their freedom.

It has emphatically condemned apartheid in South Africa and the injustices suffered by the Palestinian people in the territories occupied by Israel, but has not helped to arm or finance any Third World liberation movements.

97. Cooperate in the campaign against terrorism.

Last January the president announced to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg that he would call a high-level international conference on terrorism, but nothing specific has yet been done about that proposal.

98. Complete negotiations for Spain's membership in the Common Market.

This has been the top-priority item in the government's foreign policy. Major progress has been made during the past 2 years.

99. Obtain greater autonomy for Spain, going beyond the blocs, by freezing negotiations for integration in NATO's military structure, and by keeping the public commitment made to hold a referendum on our membership in NATO.

Maintaining the intention of holding a referendum on NATO without actually doing so creates more uncertainty than autonomy for Spain's foreign policy, since in both the west and the east there are expectations that some resolution is needed, in order to know what to expect.

100. Promote the claim for Spain's sovereignty over Gibraltar.

The opening of the gate for pedestrian traffic has had some economic and humanitarian benefits, but it has not meant any progress for our sovereignty claim, which is still a top-priority issue for Spain.

7679

CSO: 3548/23

ROCA INTERVIEWED ON PRD AS 'NONSOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE'

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 18 Nov 84 pp 22-23

[Interview with Miquel Roca, secretary general of the CDC, by Fernando Jauregui: "Miquel Roca: 'I Can Assure That We Will Not Make a Preelectoral Pact with Popular Coalition'" date and place not specified; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] Madrid--Miquel Roca, secretary general by delegation of the CDC [Democratic Convergence of Catalonia] and spokesman for the Catalan Minority in the Congress of Deputies, at 44 years of age is about to undertake a new direction in his political career. The constitutional congress of the PRD [Democratic Reformist Party] will be held at the end of this week. He is its inspiration although he is not going to be a member of it. According to Roca in this interview, it is a party born with the intention of becoming "the nonsocialist alternative."

When someone asks him if it does not bother him, a former member of the People's Liberation Front, to become head of the conservative alternative to the socialist government, he answers: "It is impossible to be more conservative than the socialist policy itself. It is insensitive to strikes, to the loss of the purchasing power of pensions or the consequences of the industrial reconversion it presents....Don't come to me with conservative alternatives. My career has been consistent since the time one realizes that the revolutionary utopia is nonviable and that the most revolutionary thing is the defense of freedoms."

It is already almost a cliché to say that Miquel Roca is a European politician. What is not very clear is which model of European politician he follows. Is it a Barre model, a David Owen model, a Genscher or the Italian radical Pannella? He answers: "Genscher is not a model, with all due respect to him, because he gives the image of a hinge party which I do not like. There is a Barre model that seems correct to me; there is also a correct Owen model. However, there is a European model that seems much more correct to me resulting from European policy today, regardless of who is in charge. This is the will to advance realistically in the economic sector and aggressively and dynamically in freedom and culture."

Question: Does Miquel Roca concede that he might become the head of the alternative to socialism?

Answer: Yes, for one reason: I don't believe the conservative right is, in itself, an alternative. Therefore, there might only be one alternative to socialism, but this does not have to be the conservative alternative, simply the nonsocialist alternative. This is different from the rightist alternative.

Question: Does that imply that the Popular Coalition will eventually disappear?

Answer: I think it would be good if it did not disappear, if it remained, if it were strong. We need a strong democratic right. What happens is that for many years the Spanish sociological structure has not changed because the option for change is the conservative right. This is an accepted fact. The theory of the AP [Popular Alliance] roof is beginning to be accepted in any political analysis. I am certainly in the position to assure that we will not make a preelectoral pact with the Popular Coalition. As to postelectoral coalitions, nothing can be excluded. It is necessary to understand that, in Spanish politics, the important thing is the program itself, to carry it out. Any government coalition has to be formed on the basis of respect for the program. Starting with that, no one can accuse you of having betrayed anything. If your program is limited by your participation in a coalition, you must not enter into that coalition but remain in the opposition. I have always maintained that it is also possible to govern from the opposition.

"In Spain We Must Have Courage to Adopt Quasifederal Mechanisms"

Question: Can the /peripheral/ nature of an aspirant to the president of the country help the dialogue for the consolidation of a country of autonomies? For example, is a Catalan better able to make himself understood in the Basque Country? Won't all this reformist operation be simply a /Pujol operation/?

Answer: I do not accept presenting myself as a candidate for the presidency of the country. The important thing now is the formation of something that can fill a political vacuum; the rest will come later. Presenting candidacies is premature. It is obvious that a country of autonomies involves a new organization of political parties. It is not going to be the same as a centralist state. Therefore, I think it is absolutely indispensable for Spanish political life that there be much more active participation in national life from the periphery. Last, I want to say that this is not a /Pujol operation/ just as it is not a /Roca operation/ or a /Convergence operation/. The decision is that the PDC must help structure this through participation in Spanish politics. It is not an operation in the self-interested sense of the word but the culmination of an entire process.

Question: Would you advocate a federal state like most of the Western nations are?

Answer: I believe the autonomous process must be completed through progressive federalization based on autonomous development. For example, if we tried to

apply some of the FRG measures in Spain today, the people would still be seeing things because there, for example, the central administration does not have any participation in the /lander/ where Bonn has something like /embassies/. I don't think the FRG is a model for the breaking up of the state. In Spain we must have the courage to adopt quasifederal mechanisms and policies. Facing our upcoming admission in the EEC, we have to see how the autonomous communities participate more in general state policies, having to subordinate their own policies to community decisions.

Question: After the next general elections, what type of relations will there be between Convergencia i Unio, the PRD and perhaps the Galician Coalition?

Answer: It is still too soon to say. The CDC and PRD will agree on a common program between their respective parliamentary forces based on their own sovereignty. As to the integration of the Galician Coalition in reformism, I want maximum flexibility because it is definitely a process of electoral strategy that obliges us all to help them. As to the role the Galician Coalition might play, that will be seen in the future.

"Fact That Catalan Assumes Leadership Automatically Arouses Suspensions"

Question: The impression that you give now when you say the status of the Galician Coalition "will be seen in the future" is that too many legal problems are left up in the air. The connection between the PRD and the Galician Coalition could be one of these legal problems. Your own participation at the head of the entire operation, without being a member of the PRD, could be another.

Answer: My complaint is that there is an attempt to present the image that there are too many legal problems. This is not true. In Spain there is something called Popular Coalition, for example, in which not just the AP, the PDP [People's Democratic Party] and the UL [expansion unknown] coexist but parties like the UPN [Union of the People of Navarra] and the PAR [Aragon Regionalist Party]. If this has been done from a political option less sensitive to the autonomous dimension of the nation, it is perfectly appropriate that the reformist option does it with, let us say, more distinctive groups. As to my participation, this is very clear. If there is a political agreement between the CDC and the PRD, there is no obstacle in these two parties deciding on a common political leadership. This happens in France and Germany; there is no problem. However, the fact that the leadership here is assumed by a Catalan automatically arouses a number of suspicions about the ultimate intention of that operation. I, as a Catalan, demand the same respect as any other citizen in the country. Otherwise, it would mean discrimination from which there would be negative consequences.

Question: Will you let me ask you a question that is in many people's minds? Who guarantees to us Spaniards that Hiquel Roca, at the head of the national government, will not try to give priority to the interests of Catalonia as has been done before for the interests of Madrid or the Basque Country, for example?

Answer: There are two guarantees. One is the 7 years of my political career. They will show whether there has been anything in my actions that hurts the

general interests of Spain. Secondly, even if Roca leads it, I don't believe the deputies from the reformist groups are going to sacrifice their interests, the interests that each one represents, to the interests of one man in particular. They will be very careful to defend all their interests.

Question: I would like you to outline for me what, in your opinion, might be the political map in the middle of the next legislature.

Answer: There could be three forces of similar size. Socialism would be the most important numerically, with a conservative right and reformism of similar size as to number of votes. There would be a larger communist party than now but, obviously, on a more unobtrusive level of participation. If the socialists recognize that they have received 3 million votes from the center, plus more than 2 million votes that centrism won in the 1982 elections--their worst time--this shows that we have a conglomerate of about 5 million votes. This would give us three forces of similar size.

Question: Is there a real possibility of a political center or will the center represent the sociological right?

Answer: I agree that this question corresponds to a real situation. If the center, reformism, reaches the position of having a useful vote, it can be that voters from other ideological spectrums will climb onto the bandwagon. This always happens in a democracy. The people vote at times based on an ideology and at other times negatively: "I voted for him so that these others would not win." That is inevitable.

"There Will Be Three Votes in 1986: Masochist, Loser, Third Force"

Question: It has been said that, in the last speech on the state of the nation, Felipe Gonzalez gave the alternative to Miquel Roca.

Answer: No, I think this was an exaggerated appraisal. Minutes after Felipe Gonzalez said this, Guerra went out in the corridors saying that all this was nothing more than the program of a Catalan nationalist, trying to discredit my participation. It was a good tactic for Gonzalez, one he has always tried: saying that this is good and not the other. What happens is that Fraga and the others were wrong to take him seriously.

Question: Keeping in mind that the elections are in 1986, isn't there too little time to construct the PRD?

Answer: Certainly there is no extra time. From that standpoint, the PRD has a disadvantage compared to other parties. However, it has another advantage. Of those that are already implanted, one is worn out from its government action which has not been too successful and another is worn out since it has been incapable of offering a well-constructed alternative to socialism. Therefore, we can reach the starting gate under equal conditions. I say that there will be three types of votes in the 1986 elections: the masochist, the loser and the votes for a third force "to see if we can do something positive with it."

7/17

CSG: 3648/48

PC SPOKESMAN MAYOR OREJA ON BASQUE POLITICAL TURMOIL

Madrid YA in Spanish 21 Oct 84 p 7

[Text] Bilbao. Jaime Mayor Oreja, spokesman for the Popular Coalition in the Basque parliament, yesterday told YA that the text of the agreement of the Basque finance council only reflects, insofar as the allocation of authority is concerned, the interpretations of Garaicoechea on the Historic Territories Law. Nonetheless, he feels that when the time for action comes, the deputations will take on greater authority.

Based on a first reading of the document, before any knowledge of the statement of the national assembly of the PNV [Basque Nationalist Party], which could change the circumstances, he believes that the real nationalist crisis involving the delimitation of authority between the Basque government and the statutory deputations has not been resolved. He said that if anyone yielded during the drafting of the Basque finance council's report, it was the presidents of these deputations, who saw, for example, how authority in terms of industry and budget allocations is solely the responsibility of the Basque government.

Mayor Oreja feels it is possible that when the time for action comes, the deputations will not limit their actions to the agreement of the Basque finance council, and may extend their activities by means of a reorganization of their own resources.

In an assembly to be held today, Sunday [21 October] by the elected officials of the Popular Coalition, a number of resolutions are to be approved which, based on prior meetings, will take a position critical of the attitude of "relinquishing of responsibilities" by the representatives of the statutory deputations in the entire process related to the Historic Territories Law. The "enormous ideological contradiction" of the PNV will be pointed out; the PNV did not approve the Constitution, feeling that an additional provision did not respect the historic rights which are today endangered, in the view of the

Popular Coalition, by the Historic Territories Law. Jaime Mayor Oreja feels it is very difficult to predict the immediate future in this "serious crisis which Basque nationalism has suffered and continues to suffer, because of the elements of surprise involved, such as how a party has been able to avoid compliance with a legal precept in order to dominate a specific internal issue."

Two Clear Territorial Models

As a conclusion of this conflict, he noted that the PNV has tried essentially to be an extraordinary vote-getting machine that has gained ground on both the right and the left, but which lacks an ideological and political philosophy for governing. This has now become apparent since within nationalism, there continue to be two clear territorial models in the Basque country. This has also happened with other issues, such as abortion. "The nationalists," he added, "have preferred to keep moving rather than take a definite ideological position. These parties are useful in campaigning for elections, but they make any government stability enormously difficult, given the internal confusion prevailing about the different political models."

Another key factor in Mayor Oreja's view is that the PNV has appropriated institutions for itself. "In the Basque finance council it has quelled internal conflicts on different concessions and issues affecting Basque nationalism; I believe this is bad for our country."

Question: Do you feel that the PNV is following in the footsteps of the UCD [Democratic Center Union] in terms of the multiplicity of its political models?

Answer: I was a member of the UCD, and I believe that the differences and models existing within the PNV related to specific issues are even greater than those that existed in the UCD.

Question: Could the question of whether at a given moment, one position or another will prevail within nationalism affect them directly, given the contacts that the Popular Coalition has had with the PNV leadership, through Arzallus?

Answer: The Popular Coalition of the Basque Country does not have at this time, nor has it had since its new phase began in April 1983, any more connection with Arzallus or with the Euskadi Buru Batzar than it does with Garaicoechea. I believe that the PNV crisis will be further simplified when it is viewed as a

division between the Christian democratic group, which would be the present leaders of Euskadi Buru Batzar, and others, more like social democrats, headed by Garaicoechea.

Question: But on some issues there are agreements between Euskadi Buru Batzar and Garaicoechea, as on the statutory model.

Answer: On this issue of territorial distribution, yes, there is greater agreement. We also support the expansion of powers of the deputations and not the permanent lack of confidence in territorial institutions in relation to communes. But there are many issues on which the Euskadi Buru Batzar in recent months has totally disagreed with our political group. I believe that, on a day-by-day basis, and considering the trends currently dominating the PNV, there is no possibility for immediate agreement between us with either one of those groups.

Question: If the PNV were to emerge weakened from the crisis in terms of voter support, something that still remains to be seen, would that help the Popular Coalition?

Answer: I do believe that in this new phase, the Popular Coalition will certainly benefit enormously, not from the PNV's immediate crisis, but rather from the socialist crisis, and at the same time, after some years of government, from the PNV crisis. But I do feel that we can not sit back and watch this PNV crisis as a spectacle. The Popular Coalition has many things to improve, and things to do in the Basque country. It must win prestige, unity, and attract a great number of Basques who are today left outside of politics, because they believed that the PNV was an unbeatable rival and that the ETA [Basque Fatherland and Liberty Group] phenomenon was irreversible, and because they saw a vast amount of disunity within the center and the right.

7679

CSO: 3548/23

BILDT ATTACKS GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF USSR PROTEST OF BOOK

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 7 Nov 84 p 2

[Article by Carl Bildt (Conservative Party)]

[Text] "The book directs attacks against practically an entire embassy. This is serious."

This was included in a statement which Ulf Larsson, undersecretary of the Cabinet Office, had transmitted on TV at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, 24 October.

The statement was unique and serious. It involves in its direct wordings as well as in its political impact that the government directed criticism against the fact that certain claims were made in the free Swedish debate.

It concerned the book "Industrial Espionage" and its statements that a large number of persons at the Soviet embassy in Stockholm belong to various Soviet intelligence organizations.

The information contained in the book was on the whole hardly sensational. The fact that the Soviet Union attached more importance to the gathering of information through its intelligence organizations than practically all other countries is probably known, as well as the fact that this, to a large extent, takes place with embassies and other lawful representations as points of departure. The fact that especially the intelligence service in the area of technology has become more important of recent years is probably also well known.

The main picture given in the book, therefore, was confirmed in various statements by various representatives of the National Swedish Police Board, although this could not be regarded as any endorsement of each and every detail in the book.

There are debates which a government would be wisest not to participate in at all. Security issues of this nature are normally only commented on with statements that the information can be neither confirmed nor denied.

Nevertheless, the government found that in this case it had to have Undersecretary Larsson state that it was "serious" that certain matters were brought out in the debate.

The statement was unique. And it probably did not become better when Undersecretary Larsson in a radio interview on 25 October motivated it in a way which created an impression that in this way they wanted to prevent an official Soviet reaction.

It has been a sacred principle for Swedish governments for many decades not to react on the sour reactions which Swedish debates may cause in other countries. That foreign powers complain about what is said and written in Sweden is no news, and we shall have to live with that for a long time.

However, it should always be the task of a Swedish government to protect the Swedish freedom of debate against the irritation and anger of foreign powers--never to protect foreign powers from the different statements made in the Swedish free debate.

That principle is based not least on the experience from the hard years when Hitler Germany surrounded the borders of our country and there were numerous demands for intervention against the Swedish press.

The statement made by Undersecretary Larson has met with severe criticism, and that criticism has come from practically all political camps.

In a small article in AFTONBLADET on 3 November, Ulf Larsson, therefore, tries to defend himself.

He writes that "the mere fact that it was understood as if representatives of the police confirmed the information against the embassy staff was the motive for me to present the facts to the general Swedish public."

This is nonsense.

If it had merely been so that it was not clear what the National Swedish Police Board thought of this matter, it would, of course, have been best to have the National Swedish Police Board clear up the matter. Both Holger Romander and Sven-Ake Hjalmarsson appeared before the press and made their evaluations clear.

The cabinet office is not to interfere in that matter through public statements. If facts concerning the viewpoints of the authorities are to be clarified, it will have to be done by these authorities themselves. When the cabinet office comes out with lightning rapidity with statements, the suspicion readily arises that they have something entirely different in mind than the "clarification" of "facts."

Moreover, some "facts" have not been "clarified" by the government either. While Ulf Larsson merely says that the government has not received information of the kind which, in the evaluation of the government, would "justify further measures" against individual members of the embassy, for example, Foreign Minister Bodstrom has quickly come out, stating that each piece of information about Soviet intelligence activity is a mere fabrication.

We have, in fact, got a situation in which the government has come to appear as a "protective power" for the Soviet embassy in the public debate.

This must be the government's business. If it wants to act in defense of the intelligence activity of some other country, nobody can prevent it from doing so.

However, the unique thing is still Ulf Larsson's written statement that it is "serious" that certain accusations have been directed against an embassy. It is the formulation of that statement which clearly and unequivocally exceeds the limit which simply must not be exceeded when it comes to the relations between the free debate, the government and foreign powers.

It is clearly in the interest of Sweden that public order be restored. The violation has occurred and can never be undone, but by clearly and unequivocally stamping it as a violation, future damage may become limited.

We must never create an impression that a Swedish government out of nervousness about the irritation of a foreign power begins to issue statements which maintain that it is "serious" that certain things are being said in the free Swedish debate.

Foreign powers may say what they want. The government may say what it wants. Free debaters may say what they want. But the fact that something is being said must never be described as "serious" and must never give rise to statements from the cabinet office.

Firmness of principle today builds walls against future pressures. Lack of principle today breaks down future walls as well against foreign pressures and foreign intervention.

The fact that Ulf Larsson in his speech for the defense in AFTONBLADET does not take up this decisive viewpoint with a single word shows most clearly how sick the matter actually is.

Out of nervousness of an irritated Soviet reaction to the book in a sensitive political period, they quickly departed from fundamental Swedish principles.

The fact that the Soviet Union as a result chose a public protest can hardly be surprising. If merely the nervousness about a Soviet reaction had caused this amazing lack of principle, there was, of course, every occasion in the world to test what a formal protest would lead to.

There is no foreign power that would not have seized this great opportunity.

7262
CSO: 3650/57

SURVEY SHOWS MP STILL POLITICALLY VIGOROUS

MP Mock Electoral Victory

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 4 Nov 84 p 6

[Text] General elections were held in Turkey one year ago today (Sunday coincided with 6 November in 1983). The Motherland Party [MP] won the elections and became the government. What would happen if another election were held today after this 1-year interval? In a survey conducted jointly with PIAR [Marketing and Economic Surveys] and SIAR [Social and Economic Surveys] MILLIYET sought an answer to this question. And here are the results:

If the electorate went to the ballot box today,

- 1) the government would not change;
- 2) the Populist Party [PP] and the Nationalist Democracy Party [NDP] would be completely wiped out, and they would not win a single seat in the Assembly;
- 3) the Social Democracy Party [SODEP] and the Correct Way Party [CWP] would enter the Assembly as the second and the third largest parties, respectively.

On 25 March 1984, local elections were held 4 months after the general elections in 1983. While only three parties participated (MP, PP and NDP) in the 6 November 1983 elections, the number of contestants rose to six in the 25 March local elections with the participation of SODEP, CWP and RP [expansion unknown].

A comparison of the results of the two elections highlighted the following facts:

--MP, which won the general elections, maintained its leading position in the local elections.

--PP and NDP lost major shares of their support.

--SODEP rose to second position with votes won over from PP, and CWP became the third largest party.

The responses given to the question "If an election were held today, which party would you vote for?" project the following lineup for the three largest parties:

--MP: 31.9 percent;
--SODEP: 22.6 percent;
--CWP: 8.44 percent.

However, the findings of PIAR-SIAR show that there is a large segment of voters who "have not yet decided" or who "will not say who they will vote for." These voters, who constitute 26.4 percent of the sample polled, will make their choice on the day of the election.

MILLIYET's computations on the basis of PIAR-SIAR's findings reflect the following results (excluding the "undecided" and "will not say" vote):

MP	43.4 percent
PP	6.5 percent
NDP	5.1 percent
SODEP	30.8 percent
CWP	11.4 percent
RP	1.4 percent
Independent	1.5 percent

Distribution of Assembly Seats

According to this vote distribution, when the parties that do not meet the 10 percent national threshold requirement mandated by electoral law are dropped, only MP, SODEP and CWP are eligible for seats in the Assembly. Although these three parties have won only 85.6 percent of the vote, according to the electoral law they have to divide up the votes of the remaining parties among themselves.

"National" projections that do not take the "province level" distribution into account indicate that the parties will have the following seat distribution in the Grand National Assembly:

MP	228
SODEP	133
CWP	39

Voting Shifts Among Parties

The prospective replacement of PP and NDP by SODEP and CWP in the National Assembly indicates that the shifting voting pattern seen at the local elections is continuing. The findings of the survey underscore the fact that SODEP and CWP continue to maintain their positions as the second and third largest parties in the country since their success at the local elections.

While more than half (53.6 percent) of the respondents who said that they voted for MP at the 6 November 1983 elections indicated that they would vote for that

party again, MP seems to have lost votes to SODEP and CWP (12.9 and 7.2 percent, respectively). However, MP has recouped some of these losses by votes won over from PP. A major portion (21 percent) of those who voted for MP in 1983 have said that they are "undecided" now.

The majority (54.4 percent) of the electoral bloc that voted for PP in 1983 has crossed over to SODEP. PP has also lost some voters over to MP (10.5 percent) and CWP (4.6 percent). Of those who voted for PP in 1983, only a small portion (16.8 percent) have said they will vote for that party again.

Barely a third (28.8 percent) of those who voted for NDP last year have said that they will vote for that same party again, while nearly a third (26.5 percent) of them have crossed over to CWP. The remaining portion of this group of voters remains undecided.

About PIAR and SIAR

PIAR was formed in 1975 as a market survey organization, but it soon proved to be proficient in conducting public opinion polls. The projections of a survey conducted jointly by MILLIYET and PIAR before the latest general elections was the most accurate forecast of the actual results, and it thus proved the growing role of social surveys in modern societies.

In January 1984, PIAR formed a new department within its own organization. This new department, SIAR, became an independent organization in August 1984.

Today, PIAR and SIAR fully collaborate with each other and are in charge of several surveying projects--some of them for international organizations--in social, political and economic areas.

Meanwhile, PIAR's application to join the Gallup International Polling Organizations Association, which is the most renowned polling establishment in the world, has been approved, and PIAR has been an associate member of the association since June 1984.

How the Survey Was Held

The public opinion survey conducted jointly by MILLIYET and PIAR-SIAR was compiled by means of face-to-face interviews with respondents from two samples representing all of Turkey. In the first sample which encompassed 20 provinces, 2,294 persons were interviewed. The results obtained from the first sample were verified by a survey of a second sample of 600 persons from 6 districts selected from various parts of the country. The two samples were surveyed concurrently, but the responses were analyzed separately.

The survey results are based on the responses of the 2,294 respondents in the first sample which represents the general electorate of Turkey in terms of sex and age distribution. These results have a margin of error of ± 3 percent, which conforms with international standards. In other words, a result of 30 percent expresses a range of 27 to 33 percent.

Barlas on Survey Results

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 4 Nov 84 p 1

["Today" column by Mehmet Barlas: "The Conscience of the Masses"]

[Text] Have the Motherland Party [MP] administration and Ozal been successful or not? What would happen if an election were held today?

Yes, inflation has not been curbed, the rise in the number of unemployed has not been halted and the living conditions of the "mainmast" have not been improved. These are concrete signs of failure.

On the other hand, exports have increased, the Public Housing Fund has begun functioning, the currency exchange and import system has been liberalized and the country's creditworthiness abroad has improved. These are examples of success.

The truth is that any government can be declared a success or a failure. In particular, if you are biased or if you have certain preconceptions for any reason, a government will not win any praise from you even if it creates miracles. Conversely, you will not stop praising and supporting a government that has won your sympathy even if that government drags the country into chaos.

That is why in democracies the entire nation participates in general elections, and the national will determines the new government.

The forces that determine how voters will vote do not emanate from abstract sympathies and preconceptions. The collective mind and reason of millions of people appraises the situation in a most realistic manner. This system, that is free general elections, whose fairness is never disputed, determines who will become the government and who will become the opposition.

Today, public opinion surveys whose impartiality and scientific foundations are trusted are the most suitable means of gauging general political trends.

MILLIYET conducted public opinion surveys through PIAR both before the 6 November 1983 general elections and the 25 March 1984 local elections and published the results of the poll. Our readers will remember how close the results of those polls were to the actual results.

On the first anniversary of last year's general election we held a new PIAR survey.

What would happen if an election were held today?

As the figures published in our paper indicate, if an election were held today MP would once again become the government.

As the table we have presented shows, 31.9 percent of those polled said they would vote for MP and 22.6 percent said they would vote for SDAP. The other parties are listed as, CWP, FP and NCP, in order of voter preference. In

addition, 26.4 of those polled are either undecided or will not disclose their preference.

Using a procedure which we tried in previous elections and which was proved to be correct by election results, we divided up this undecided bloc of 26.4 percent among the parties in proportion to their voter support.

The result was that MP would become the government with 43 percent of the vote and SODEP would become the main opposition party with 30.8 percent of the vote. This means that the Turkish voter continues to trust the Ozal government to which it has given a 5-year mandate.

Everyone must learn a lesson from this result.

The government must work harder to deserve the continuing trust of the people.

And the circles who are trying to nullify the results of the elections before the term of the government is over must learn from the democratic common sense of the people and must let moderation and stability guide their attitude.

Table I. Comparison of Previous Election Results and Survey Projections (percent of popular vote)

<u>Party</u>	<u>6 November 1983 election results</u>	<u>25 March 1984 election results</u>	<u>6 November 1984 MILLIYET-PIAR-SIAR survey results</u>
MP	45.2	41.6	31.9
PP	30.5	8.8	4.8
NDP	23.3	7.0	3.8
SODEP	--	23.4	22.6
TWP	--	13.3	8.4
RP	--	4.4	1.0
Independent	1.1	1.5	1.1
Undecided	--	--	17.9
Will not say	--	--	8.5
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0

Table II. MILLIYET's Projections Excluding "Undecided" and "Will Not Say" Responses

<u>Party</u>	<u>Percent of Responses</u>
MP	43.4
PP	6.5
NDP	5.1
SODEP	30.8
CWP	11.4
RP	1.4
Independent	1.5
Undecided	--
Will not say	--
Total	100.0

Table III. Comparison of Current and Projected Seat Distributions in Assembly

<u>Party</u>	<u>1983 election results</u>	<u>Survey projection</u>
MP	211	228
PP	117	--
NDP	71	--
SODEP	--	133
CWP	--	39

9588

CSO: 3554/38

PROBLEMS WITH MEDICAL SERVICE DURING ROARING LION MANEUVERS

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 17 Oct 84 pp 92, 97

[Article by Leo Bridts: "Concerning the Mouse That Roared"]

[Excerpts] In the second half of September, the Belgian armed forces participated, within the framework of NATO's fall maneuvers, in the Roaring Lion exercise. The operation of the medical service, in particular, was examined critically. An eyewitness report.

The Belgian portion of the maneuvers had the codename Roaring Lion. During this exercise, in which American tank units also participated, special attention was paid to the medical service. Concerning this, however, more will be said later.

A total of circa 22,000 Belgian soldiers--personnel on active duty, militiamen and recalled personnel--took part in the Roaring Lion action. They stook all of North Rheinland-Westfalen on its head. Tanks made their way through forests and fields, meadows were damaged where tents were pitched for camping. Germans fell as victims of traffic accidents, and soldiers, too, gave their lives for God and country. During the second week of the maneuvers, a Belgian tank-driver died in his vehicle while crossing a small river. He was the sole fatal casualty of Belgian nationality. For this reason, career officers called the exercise, in fact, a success. Hats off to anyone who understands that.

Notwithstanding the devastating activities our troops displayed in West Germany for ten days, in the name of the peace and security of the West, the German population remained contentedly smiling. Even little soldier sweethearts turned up. Wherever the solders stopped, they were approached by thirteen- and fourteen-year-old child-women, who shared a smile in return for a few cigarettes.

And the weary soldier, he marched on and caused still more damage. According to the big boss of Roaring Lion, Lieutenant-General De Boodt, the damage caused by the maneuvers was unavoidable, but it was nevertheless

reduced to an absolute minimum. "The local population's reaction to this was most understanding," said De Boodt. "The claims for damages were promptly and properly dealt with in joint consultation. Moreover, the German population and the Belgian military authorities maintained very cordial relations in this matter."

Concerning the financial aspects of the exercise, the general went on to say that the greater part of the budget was consumed by maneuver damages, but that this was certainly justifiable in exchange for peace.

The Medical Game

The activities of the medical service were given particular attention during the recent fall maneuvers. The 3rd semi-mobile evacuation hospital, the size of three soccer fields, was fully deployed especially for the exercise. There were also three medical companies in the field, that had to see to the transportation of wounded from the aid posts at the front to the companies' sorting stations, or wherever doctors and nursing personnel were present to give the wounded further treatment and prepare them to be transported in ambulances of the 1st ambulance company or in Alouette helicopters to the 3rd semi-mobile evacuation hospital. The wounded were either soldiers in make-up who were "injected" during the actions of the combat units or troops from the combat units who had a photograph of a wounded part of the body hung around their necks. This was with the intention of playing the game in earnest. The "wounded" had to be brought to the aid posts as quickly as possible, from there as fast as possible to the sorting stations and as soon as possible after that to the evacuation hospital.

It was no fault of the men of the medical service that one thing or another went awry or didn't work out right. All the troops, from private to major and colonel, set themselves to carrying everything out as well as possible. So, the human aspect of the medical service was a great success. Except for a fallen reserve colonel, who grumbled about the wrinkles in a blanket, and a young female lieutenant, who continually snapped at her troops in a imitation male voice, almost no discordant tones were to be noted.

The problems manifested themselves in two areas. First and foremost, there was the mentality of certain combat units. The reconnaissance units, for example, usually left the wounded to their own fate, after administering first aid. That meant that certain wounded often remained behind in the woods without the necessary provisions. This was no blessed inspiration for the morale of the troop.

Furthermore, there was also the equipment. My ambulance platoon had six vehicles: five Unimogs by Mercedes and a Land Rover jeep. There was something wrong with four of these six conveyances all through the maneuvers. Of the ambulances, there were two that had problems with

the gear-box and one that needed to have a new alternator installed. But things could scarcely be otherwise, these ambulances are fifteen years old. So, keep your fingers crossed that it never comes to a real war, because on that level there won't be much more to be seen of the roaring lion. The name "Roaring Mouse" will be more appropriate.

Another fact that is probably worth reporting, is the role played by the medical referees. They were supposed to evaluate the medical game. That they got too caught up in the game every once in a while and lost sight of reality seems an unforgiveable mistake. Doctors were admonished, for instance, because they reported as dead those wounded with very severe injuries, who had already been on route from the front to the sorting station for eight hours or longer--which would be impossible for them to survive.

Some of the referees considered this excessive. The doctors shouldn't spoil the game. But where then does one stand with an objective evaluation of the medical assistance? At some moments, a fatal casualty rate of thirty percent was being counted. Is that not a real datum, which urgently demands that something be done, to which the system should adapt itself? If, however, one really views the medical game as a "little game" one will never be able to judge the reality. Can one hold it against the doctors, then, if they, too, make a little game of it and start acting like real cynics? In such situations, the roar of the lion is drowned out by the peep of the feeble mouse.

12507

CSO: 3614/26

WOMEN STILL DENIED COMBAT ROLE

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 12 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Erik Matzen]

[Text] The defense system has little faith in putting female soldiers in the very front lines.

Women should not be used as infantry soldiers, drivers of tanks and armored personnel carriers or as members of gun and missile crews. Women should stay in the rear lines working with telegraph and signal units.

This attitude was expressed in a letter to the Equal Rights Council in which the Defense Command wrote that "the average woman cannot meet the very great demands on personal physical strength," an attitude shared by the Defense Ministry.

"It is a shame for the women," said the head of the Defense Physical Education School, Colonel Vagn Jensen. "Seven years of experience from inspections all around the country have proved very clearly to me that very very few women can measure up to men when it comes to physical strength and endurance.

Doomed to Failure

"That is why the trials the Equal Rights Council is now trying to force through in the army and air force are doomed to failure. They should have looked at the experiences we have already had from the telegraph and signal units where there have been problems earlier. Then they would never have started this effort with combat troops."

The colonel was referring to the trial that started here on 1 November when 75 women in all were selected to participate on equal terms with men. This trial will not be evaluated until it has been completed, 3 years from now.

"Women are no good at loading trucks, camouflaging units, changing tracks on tanks and carrying heavy shells to gun batteries. And if women are given the easy work it will create poor morale among the men and thus weaken fighting

ability. Now the trial has started. It is too bad that women have to be mixed out so the Equal Rights Council can see what we already know now."

Nonsense

"Stuff and nonsense," said Equal Rights Council chairperson Helle Degn. "Ideas like these are prejudices that have no solid basis. What is an average woman? This is nothing but the expression of the general prejudice that has to be eliminated. It also shows that the defense leadership must be kept on a short lead and we will take care of that through our representatives in various project groups."

6278

CSO: 3613/37

ARMED FORCES CHIEFS, SDP LINING UP FOR DEFENSE FUNDS FIGHT

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 13 Nov 84 pp 16-17

[Article by Erik Matzen]

[Text] Billions of tax kroner and the future of defense are currently at stake.

Strong forces among top officers are trying to influence the composition of the analysis group that will make thorough studies of future arms purchases, so that in due course the group will arrive at the "right" conclusions which will not make decisive changes in the present arms balance.

Therefore these forces are working to persuade Defense Minister Hans Engell (Conservative) to name Peter Ilsoe as chairman of the analysis group. But an observer told AKTUELT that Ilsoe lacks the necessary technological knowledge and thus is not the right person to lead the work of the group.

This very lack of knowledge is an extra plus for the top officers because it would give them extra opportunities to have the Defense Command's own officers lead the work in the desired direction. And finally the top officers have another good reason for wanting Ilsoe to serve as chairman.

Until a few years ago Ilsoe was an authoritative civilian second in command of the Defense Intelligence Service, but the civilian element was a thorn in the side of the top brass and they got him transferred to a temporary job at the NATO Defense Academy in Rome. Ilsoe's position as second in command of Defense Intelligence was taken over by Colonel K. L. Christensen.

Now another desk must be found for Ilsoe and as chairman of the analysis group he will not do any harm and might do some good, in the view of these groups.

A stand must be taken on the investment of at least 5-6 billion kroner. Is it still a good idea to use billions on new submarines and big battleships for the navy? Is there any future for new tanks for the army? Is there any sense in new advanced surveillance equipment and trucks with Harpoon missiles for the air force? And much much more.

It was the Social Democrats who included a provision in the defense compromise that an independent advisory analysis group, the armed forces' council of experts, should be appointed because the party along with others no longer trusted the advice of FKO [Defense Command] and this did not sit well with the top brass.

Rear-Admiral N. F. Lange said of the group: "It is annoying that such a group will now be appointed. Until the present defense compromise FKO prepared an outline based on the highest expertise, not only in FKO but also in the NATO organs. It is unfortunate that this competence and expertise will be set aside by the analysis group. Under the law the defense chief and the defense council are the minister's advisers on military questions and it is very unfortunate that this will now be changed."

Social Democratic defense policy spokesman Knud Damgaard is very dissatisfied that Hans Engell has not named the chairman, who will appoint the rest of the committee, long ago. Damgaard personally favored the leader of the Defense Research Service, civil engineer V. Guntelberg.

But the top officers would probably not consider that a good idea. Guntelberg has praised Major Jens Jorn Graabaek's work on defense in the future. Among other things Graabaek thinks that 2-3 billion kroner for new submarines would be a poor investment; a viewpoint very unpopular among commanders and admirals, who do not consider Graabaek's viewpoint impartial. Top officers also have another reason for wanting to render Graabaek harmless: more than anyone else he is the one who has turned the public spotlight on these investment billions and if Guntelberg names Graabaek to sit on the analysis group FKO will find it harder to guide the course of developments. Therefore the current power struggle is decisive for the future of the armed forces. The question is also whether the people will be well-served with poor investments in the billions for the purpose of maintaining a balance among the service branches that is becoming outdated.

"It is vital that the group get going," said Knud Damgaard. "It should be at work even now, because we will soon make new materiel purchases. Analysis work is something that takes time if it is to be of any value and provide a credible basis for decisions."

6578

CSO: 3613/37

MILITARY DEMOCRATIZATION SOUGHT AT ECCO MEETING

Athens ANDI in Greek 12 Oct 84 pp 18, 21

[Excerpts] The 6th ECCO Conference in Athens did not become a major part of the soldier's movement, but it created the atmosphere for a lively dialog for resubmitting the problems and the struggles of soldiers and for becoming the object of concern and discussion. The initiative of the "Commission for the Army" and the "Commission for Soldiers' Rights" for the ECCO conference to take place in Athens had undisputedly positive results. It rekindled the interest in a series of questions on the Army and created, for the first time after the restoration of democracy, a different climate and context for dialog on the subject of the Army. Mainly, however, it showed that the Movement for the Army has the potential, in our country, to make progress and to develop from within existing contradictions certain procedures that can offer it the possibility of intervening effectively in those developments that concern the operation and the role of the Army.

Participation and Work of the Conference

There were three subjects discussed during the 3-day conference: Army--Peace--Democracy; health services for the troops; and the rights of soldiers in Europe and, more specifically, in the southern countries. Representatives of soldiers' movements from ten countries, France, Germany, Belgium, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, The Netherlands, Norway and Greece, participated in the works of the conference. They represented either legal and recognized unions of their countries or organizations that demand trade unions and the basic democratic rights for soldiers.

The subject that attracted the greatest interest during the works of the conference was the one about Army--Peace--Democracy. All of the representatives emphasized that their organizations have relations with the peace movements in their countries and expressed their opposition to nuclear weapons. On the subject of the confrontation of the Army, the position of the Dutch representative, whose union has 7,000 members, was interesting. After he explained that, as a union, they cannot express an opinion as to whether there is the need for an army or not, he emphasized that, in view of the fact that the parliament accepted and decided that there is the need for an army, then, because of this fact, the army must be one of draftees. As to the conscientious objectors, he stated that they support their right to abolish the draft by pleading for the struggles of the soldiers and, in this manner, show everyone that they can serve in the

Army without giving up their principles. The Finnish representative referred to the need for an army as related to the defense of national independence and emphasized that, if the living conditions are improved in the Army, the problem of conscientious objection will gradually cease to exist. Every delegation made reference to the specific problems with which it has to cope: the living conditions, the health problems in the Army and the situation of the movement in their countries.

The Greek Presentation

The representatives of the Greek delegation, whose presentations appear, excerpted in the following columns, made reference to the situation in Greece, the attempts and the struggles of soldiers during the past 3 years as well as their own private views on the objectives of the soldiers' movement. The "Democratic Soldiers' Unions," which recently held their Panhellenic conference, motivated by the new regulation 20-1, emphasized that "the governing party and the rightist opposition agree, with small non-essential differences, in maintaining the same airtight regime in the ED [Armed Forces] and the denial of the democratic rights to soldiers." The "Soldiers--Sailors--Airmen Committees" maintained that the movement "since the first registering and publicizing of their demands must move on to the struggle to demand and promote the objectives set by the soldiers' conferences."

Of interest in the presentations by the Greek representatives are the various perceptions of the contents of the draft today and the prospects of the movement for the Army. The Committee for the Army held the view that the draft constitutes the central mechanism for the subordination, assimilation and indoctrination of youth in a bourgeois society. Today "the prospect of abolishing the bourgeois Army seems utopian and far away. However, it is the only possible answer by society to the real prospect of a nuclear war," was emphasized by the committee. The "Democratic Soldiers' Unions" insisted on the need "to continue the discussion for the role and the makeup of the Army, the officers and the general positions on battle readiness and democracy in the Army" along with the promotion of a broader policy of institutional changes in the Army. These different perceptions were also expressed in the resolution on the subject "Army--Peace--Democracy" in which the "Commission for the Army" had reservations about certain points, while the "Commission for Soldiers' Rights" and the rest of the delegations from the other countries signed it.

Both PASOK--as party and as government--and the KKE were absent from the conference. The KEED [Movement for the Democratization of the Armed Forces] sent greetings to the governing body of the conference and a PASOK representative held conversations with representatives of the servicemen's organizations of foreign countries.

After the first day, the Greek press did not give additional coverage to the conference, while radio and television coverage of its sessions was impressive. This fact, in addition to the position of the Finns in the resolution concerning the situation in Greece, provoked a series of discussions on the stand taken by the governing party. Some actually expressed the view that PASOK wishes to join ECCO and is trying to find an excuse to become part of it. On the other

hand, ECCO is supported by social democratic and socialist parties in Europe with which PASOK has friendly, of not excellent, relations. It is said that the non-committal reference to the government's position in anything regarding the meeting of even the minimum demands of the Servicemen's Commission in the resolution regarding Greece could be related to the future position of PASOK towards ECCO, which will be different from the present one.

Presentations of the Greek Delegations at the Sixth ECCO Conference

Soldiers' Democratic Unions

To strengthen the democratic rights, the freedoms and the participation of soldiers in the matters that affect them ...

The great problems of the Armed Forces and of the draftees remain. What is needed today is a bold policy of institutional changes in order to prevent any possibility of the Army's intervention in politics, to strengthen democratic rights, freedoms and the participation of soldiers in matters that affect them (health, transfers, education, etc.), the equal treatment and the respect of individuality and to abolish the punishment of detention that protracts service.

At the same time, length of service should be reduced immediately and substantially because in Greece it is still the longest in all of Western Europe.

In view of the situation that has developed, and taking into consideration that setting forth objectives of a general nature does not broaden the response and the potential of the demands by larger social groups and by the majority of the draftees, it is necessary to develop a concerted effort by "Soldiers' Democratic Unions" on specific demands. At present, a centralized and concerted action can call attention to the following demands:

1. Immediate and substantial reduction of length of service
2. Equal and just treatment of all soldiers
3. Freedom of information
4. Abolishment of detention that prolongs the length of service
5. Effective participation by elected committees

Army--Peace--Democracy

The right of every citizen to participate in the defense of his country ...

The soldiers are citizens in uniform ...

Democratic and human rights in the barracks ...

There cannot be peace based on oppression and intimidation

... We believe that there cannot be lasting peace without freedom, human rights and democracy. Peace that is based on oppression and intimidation cannot exist

ECCO recognizes the right of every nation, every people to self-determination and national sovereignty.

Every condition imposed by armed force or any other means by one nation on another is considered unjust.

The relations between the Armed Forces and society reflect the condition of society itself.

The general democratic development of a society and the direct participation of every citizen in the decisions also constitute the best guarantee for the democratic control of the Armed Forces.

Such a condition, together with social justice, is at the same time the best way to avoid war and ensure lasting peace.

Only under such conditions can the country and the democratic society impose their rules and opinions on the Army as well as inside the Armed Forces.

ECCO recognizes the right of everyone to be a conscientious objector. At the same time, we believe in the right of every citizen to participate in the defense of his country, his life and his property. He must also have the possibility for education in order to exercise this right.

The continuous flow of soldiers within the Army ensures to a degree the transfer of new democratic ideas and developments from society to the Army.

The movements of ECCO must promote discussions among the young before they are drafted in order to be able to perform useful work within the soldiers' organizations to improve the conditions for all soldiers.

ECCO remains steadfast with regard to ideas such as:

The soldiers are citizens in uniform, consequently, they must have the same rights as all citizens and there is no reason for soldiers to be considered second-class citizens.

On the other hand, we share the conviction that only those servicemen who live in a democratic environment and believe in it will also feel obligated to defend it.

In this context, the high-handed authoritarian discipline which is based on punishment and the almighty rule of the commanders must be replaced by another based on equitable dialog, on persuasion, the explanation of orders and the respect of human rights.

Only in this way can the Armed Forces perform the role that the majority of the European constitutions assign them:

The defense of territorial integrity and the sovereign rights of the people.

Soldiers'--Sailors'--Airmen's Committees

We struggle for the committees to become the representatives of an independent soldiers' organization ...

... We continue the struggle we set in motion 3 years ago without deluding ourselves that the Army can become a "democratic oasis" and come under the "democratic control of society ..."

We struggle:

For a 12-month period of service

For trade unions in the barracks

For political freedoms for soldiers

For humane living conditions in the Army

To stop the arbitrariness of military hierarchy and the trampling of the soldiers' human dignity

To abolish punishment and military courts

Against the trends for making the Army a career that have been manifested recently, such as the introduction of a bill for 5,000 volunteers

For the recognition of the conscientious objectors' rights

To stop the persecution of draft dodgers

For an association of the soldiers' movement with the other movements that are natural allies in our struggle

The matter of the Army is a matter that must not and cannot be confined within the barracks. Finally, and most importantly for us, we struggle for the committees for the soldiers, sailors and airmen to become the representatives of an independent organization of servicemen and free trade union movement cells in the barracks.

9731

CSO: 3521/46

U.S. ALLEGEDLY PREPARED TO WITHDRAW MILITARY BASES

Athens MESIMVRINI in Greek 11 Oct 84 p 4

[Excerpts] An especially important report came to light last Sunday and went totally unobserved--obscured by the Papandreou-Mitsotakis handshake, the new Turkish violations in the Aegean and other similar world-shaking events. It is true that the news was broken by a newspaper that is not known for its devotion to matters of foreign policy. Therefore, it was reported in the most elementary way: The Greek government forbade the visit of an American nuclear submarine. Washington protested very strongly. Curtain.

Thus, was brought (or not brought) to the public's attention as a simple episode, one of the most significant actions that have taken place on the solid Greek-American scene of past years. Here is the complete dialog:

Act I. 2 September. The American envoy, Mr. Berlind, is called by Mr. John Kapsis who makes known the decision of the government not to allow visits of nuclear-powered vessels until the end of the year--until new, stricter safety rules for these vessels have been set. Thus, the arrival of an American submarine, which had been scheduled for 14 October, and a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier of the Sixth Fleet, scheduled in November, are thwarted. Mr. Kapsis, however, takes care to assure the American envoy on the backward, but steady, devotion of the government of "Change" to the promotion of Greek-American relations.

Act II. 3 September. The Greek ambassador to Washington, Mr. Papoulias, is called by Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Burt (well-known by us), who, with particular coolness, expresses the indignation of the US for this decision. He points out to him that the security specifications of the American Navy are so strict that there has never been the least problem, when, as a matter of fact, similar vessels have visited Greece many times in past years. He also points out that about half of the Sixth Fleet's units are nuclear-powered, with the result that similar prohibition creates serious problems in its movements. But the American official goes further, hinting "dubious development" in the Greek-American relations:

He states that, developments on this particular subject notwithstanding, the US Air Force command has suggested withdrawing the American Air Force contingents from the bases in Greece, letting it be understood that the decision

on the subject has, in essence, been made.

He underscores that, in view of the fact that half of the vessels of the Sixth Fleet will no longer be able to anchor in Greek waters, the bases become useless to the American Navy.

He completes his rationale with the statement, always with an air of cool indifference, that the immediate consequence of such a development would be the de facto annulment of the Greek-American defense agreement--are we going to talk about time-tables and political decisions now? At this point, Mr. Burt shrugs his shoulders.

Act III. During the following days. Telephone conferences Athens-Washington on a high level. Wait by your telephone.

The U.S. Disengages Itself

Has the government perhaps considered that in the context of the preparations for the premier's visit to Moscow it was advisable to show a belated sensitivity towards the nuclear-powered units of the Sixth Fleet? Did it perhaps fear the angry attack from the Left that it would suffer for the scheduled visits of the submarine and especially the aircraft carrier? Or perhaps the all-wise Mr. Kapsis considered it skillful negotiating strategy to show a little toughness, looking forward to the talks for the legal status of the American forces in Greece and the "Voice of America"?

In the end, it is only of minimal importance--after all, the rationalizing of the government's maneuvers has proven to be a pointless effort.

On the other hand, the American reaction cannot be considered to be accidental. It is connected to the famous move by Burt on 26 June; with reports which appeared recently in a pro-government newspaper about a finalized plan to move the American bases from here to Naples and Sicily; with the fact that for the first time in the planning of the "Display Determination" exercise, NATO adopted certain Turkish demands as to the operational control of the Aegean; and, moreover, with the undisguised reaction of Washington to the known statements by Papandreou about the South Korean jumbo jet. Signs and elements have been accumulating lately in the clouded Greek sky while the nation's attention is caught by the national soccer victories and the handshake of Papandreou and Mitsotakis.

What did Mr. Burt convey to the PASOK government without many diplomatic convolutions? That the withdrawal of the American Air Force contingents from Greece is being planned; that, if this is what "Change" wishes, the naval installations of the US on Greek soil could easily be dismantled; that, as a result of this, the Greek-American defense pact will cease to be in effect. In short, the USA behaves as if it had already decided on its gradual disengagement from Greece.

It is not only the actual signs that have been accumulating lately. It is the attitude of Mr. Burt himself and that of most American officials who talk

with Greek officials; it is an attitude of an almost irreversible indifference to the importance of Greek territory--an indifference that draws arguments from concerted suggestions of the Pentagon in that direction, even since the time of the negotiations for the bases.

Thus, putting it as simply as possible, in view of the above, the situation appears to be shaping up as follows:

The Greece of "Change" is gradually losing, together with its political credibility, its strategic usefulness to the Western Alliance. For the nation, this leads to not only military, but political weakening and not only to political, but economic consequences that will begin to make themselves felt gradually.

At the same time, the role of Turkey, which now becomes the big strategic and geopolitical factor in the area, is decidedly enhanced.

It is perhaps superfluous to say that little by little, and in practice, the equivalent operational role for the broader American interests in the area is going to be assigned, through NATO, to the friend and neighbor. With the immediate result of the increase in the potential of the Turkish threat to the nation.

Consequently, there emerges perhaps for the first time in Greek history, another threat: that of Greece remaining essentially "non-aligned," adrift on the international chessboard, at the margin of the great world-wide balances. The country cannot hope then even for the support of "brothers" like Qadhafi.

9731

CSO: 3521/46

ARMY MEDICAL PREPAREDNESS TESTED, RESULTS SATISFACTORY

Athens TA NEA in Greek 12 Oct 84 p 3

[Excerpts] The exercise "Ippokratis '84" was a complete success. Three soldiers were "killed" by the simulated bombardment and 67 were "wounded." In the two photographs, two images of the mobilization.

Everything functioned properly during "Ippokratis '84"!

Yesterday's "bombing" of KEVOP [Infantry Heavy Weapons Training Center] at Khaidari resulted in three "killed" and 67 "wounded." The "wounded" were immediately given "first aid" by the soldier-medics.

Afterwards--and after the more serious cases had been cared for at the dressing station--they were transported by ambulance and helicopter to the 401st Military Hospital. During the transport one more "wounded" "died."

The remaining soldiers are being treated in the hospital's clinics.

"We apply, both in the exercises and in actual situations--if they arise--the modern concept of medicine that maintains that the patient has much better chances of surviving if given first aid at the spot of the accident," Major General Kitridis, of the Medical Directorate of GES [Army General Staff] explained to us just before the exercise began.

"This concept," Brigadier Tsakalos, head of the Medical Directorate of SDA [Athens Military Directorate] and coordinator of the exercise, said, "is now applied almost everywhere as well as by the military services. Abroad there are mobile surgical units at the speedways. For this purpose, GES has purchased and placed in a state of readiness similar mobile surgical units."

The Scenario

The exercise began on time at 8:10 in the morning and developed according to the scenario: The "wounded" soldiers carried tags where their "wound" was described ... They were given first aid and afterwards were transferred to the first aid station where there were physicians. After the administration of the proper medical care, the "wounded" were transported by ambulance (and some by helicopter) to the 401st GSNA [Athens Army General Hospital].

"At the hospital-level everything worked perfectly," General Tsakalos told us. "We emphasized especially the soldier-medic's role immediately after the 'casualty.' We filmed every minute of the exercise in order to use it in the training of medics and physicians."

At the 401st GSNA, where they had been transferred, the "wounded" were immediately separated by the teams, which were on alert, according to the seriousness of their cases and were then taken to the clinics. Two of them "were admitted" to intensive care. Others were admitted to orthopedics, others to neurosurgery, the psychiatric clinic (for anti-shock treatment) and so on.

Test

"During the exercise the training of the personnel and the efficiency of the hospital as a whole was tested," Brigadier Zervakis, Director of the 401st GSNA, told us.

And General Tsakalos, in summarizing the results, explained that "the success was almost 100 percent. Any failures that were observed by the referees of the exercise will be corrected."

9731

CSO: 3521/46

'PURCHASE OF CENTURY' FIRMS GIVE PRIORITY TO GREECE OVER TURKEY

Athens TO VIMA in Greek 11 Oct 84 p 3

[Excerpts] Minister of National Economy, Gerasimos Arsenis, KYSEA [Government Council for National Defense] "proxy" negotiator for the "purchase of the century," yesterday had the third (and last) meeting with the companies manufacturing the new combat aircraft. Yesterday noon he had a 2-hour meeting with the vice president of the General Dynamics company, which manufactures the F-16. Present at the negotiations was the premier's economic counsel, Mr. Giannis Papanikolaou, and the talks centered mostly on the subject of offset benefits of advanced technology.

The matter of the "purchase of the century" entered the final stretch with the direct negotiations with the vice presidents of all three companies interested in selling combat aircraft to Greece. Both the French "Dassault," which manufactures the "Mirage-2000," and the American "McDonald-Douglas," which manufactures the F-18, and "General Dynamics," which manufactures the F-16, offered new prices for their aircraft to the government and new offers of offsets, which, as was reported, the Greek side began feverishly to evaluate.

According to exclusive information to VIMA, all three manufacturing companies agreed with the Greek side that, in the event their aircraft is chosen, it must be delivered to the Air Force 5 months prior to the delivery of the first F-16 combat aircraft to Turkey. At the same time, the Greek side bound itself with the manufacturing companies to sign the final contracts prior to 1985.

It is also noted that immediately after the selection the companies agreed to train a number of pilots in the handling and maintenance of the aircraft. Finally, it was agreed that the maintenance of the aircraft will be done by Greek technicians (with the help of representatives of the companies) in Greece in the plants of the Greek Aircraft Industry.

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CSO: 3521/46

STEYR-ELLAS-MANUFACTURED JEEPS

Athens TA NEA in Greek 10 Oct 84 p 11

[Text] "The first Greek jeep manufactured by Steyr-Ellas for the needs of the Armed Forces will be ready at the end of 1985," Deputy Minister of National Defense, P. Zakolikos, stated yesterday.

The Greek Army gave the specifications for the vehicle to Steyr, which had already begun to study its design. This had been preceded by a study for the Greek purchase and Steyr was selected. It will manufacture 10,000 1/4-ton jeeps and 8,000 3/4 - 1-1/4-ton jeeps during the 5-year period of 1985-1990.

As Mr. Zakolikos stated, the jeep-manufacturing program is clearly a developmental one and is a substantial part of the 5-year plan of the Greek economy. For the manufacturing, there will be cooperation with a foreign company, but the basic "pilot" of the program will be Steyr-Ellas (70 percent Greek) and other Greek industries and handicrafts.

The program includes the manufacturing of the engine in Greece with the importation of advanced technology.

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CSO: 3521/46

BRIEFS

ARMS INDUSTRY COOPERATION WITH ITALY - An overall proposal for defensive cooperation on a wide scale was discussed yesterday and today by the Greek Deputy Minister of Defense, Pafsanias Zakolikos, and his Italian colleague, Bartolo Cicardini. The agreement foresees joint manufacturing of Italian armament systems destined not only to modernize the Greek Armed Forces but also to be exported to other countries. More precisely, Greece is chiefly interested in electronic defensive systems for the Navy. Precisely 1 week before, the Turkish Minister of Defense, Yavuzturk, had visited Rome to discuss with his Italian colleague Giovanni Spadolini a new order from Turkey for anti-submarine helicopters manufactured by the Italian "Agusta," as well as anti-missile systems. The proposal for the Greco-Italian defensive agreement coincides also with the impending meeting of the Western European Union (WEU) which will be held here in Rome from the 26th to the 28th of October. One of the aims of the meeting is the modernization of NATO's standard armaments in Europe with European arms systems. Tuesday afternoon the Greek Deputy Minister left for Northern Italy where he will visit the Italian industrial installations which are established there. [By D. Deliolanis] [Text] [Athens TO VIMA in Greek 24 Oct 84 p 3] 12278

DETAILS ON NEW GREEK-PRODUCED WEAPON - The Greek Arms Industry (EBO) is manufacturing a Greek anti-tank guided missile which will be delivered to the Armed Forces within 1984. This was disclosed yesterday, in a press conference (without his giving, however, any further details), by the chairman of the EBO, Mr. Vic. Arsenis, who added that this will immediately be followed also by a Greek ground-to-air guided missile. Specifically, Mr. Arsenis emphasized the fact that: "The contract with the Armed Forces for the 'Artemis 30' crowns the efforts for the best possible results from the industry." At the same time, he informed the journalists that foreign governments showed a great deal of interest in the ground-to-air missile and in its purchase and he referred, specifically, to "existing pressures from foreign governments for delivery time frames." Referring to the additional value of the "Artemis 30" system for Greece, Mr. Arsenis emphasized that it reaches 80%. "We will give work to all our factories," he said, "in the Aegean as well as in Lavrion, Epirus and to "General Mechanics" in Eleusis." About the Greek origin of the system, Mr. Arsenis said that only part of its elaboration requires the use of "Mauler" designs and that the rest is advanced Greek technology. Its ammunitions are of Greek manufacture and

production as also the launcher (carrier). For the radar system (which is "Siemens"), circuitry (costing several millions) will be Greek while the electronic sighting system (firing-control system) is from "Philips" with specifications from and under the supervision of the EBO. Mr. Arsenis also disclosed that beside the anti-tank and ground-to-air missiles manufactured by the EBO, the industry has undertaken the study and development of an anti-missile system for the Navy. [Excerpt] [Athens TO VIMA in Greek 18 Oct 84 p 2] 12278

CSO: 3521/53

COMMANDER DEFENDS ROLE OF NATIONAL RESERVE CORPS

Amsterdam DE TELEGRAAF in Dutch 3 Nov 84 p 29

[Article by H F Van Loon: "Nico Van Batenburg of Natres: We Are Not Paper Soldiers"]

[Text] Today, 3 November, is the Big Day for Nico Van Batenburg (55), because Queen Beatrix will hand over to him, as commander, the standard of the National Reserve Corps. This is a highly symbolic act for the 6,000 members of Natres. After 36 years, the forgotten volunteers, the often ridiculed weekend warriors have finally become a fully organized unit of the Royal Land Forces. In the course of these years they have developed from men who would don the army green simply in order to hurry off to a pub, into a very motivated, engaged and enthusiastic group with the task of safeguarding vital installations in case of a conflict.

"You might call us an exponent of the silent majority," says reserve lieutenant - colonel Van Batenburg, a register-accountant for Philips in workaday life. He admits that his boss is "not always happy with me, because I have to travel around on Natres business so often, but let me add that I regularly use some of my days off for this. Membership in our corps implies for all of us that we have to put a lot of time into it. Some platoon leaders devote up to 300 or 500 hours per year to it, although they are only required to put in 100 training hours.

We are a close-knit group of men with admittedly right-of-center political sympathies, who realize damn well that the world situation is threatening, and who are prepared for hardboiled action against Warsaw Pact saboteurs and their potential Dutch collaborators if the situation should ever develop that way. For the time being, however, the standard that we will receive today is still completely virginal and without feats of arms on it. As far as I'm concerned, it can remain that way--which would go to prove that you can prevent a conflict if only you put yourself in a strong position."

Nico Van Batenburg has personally never experienced any outbursts of overt hostility, but he is aware that certain leftist elements in the Netherlands have a particular grudge against this Natres, which, they suspect, might be brought into action against "mass riots or widespread social protest."

"A nasty bunch of poeple, very keen on the military apparatus," PSP-leader Fred Van der Spek called them. Van Batenburg: "Such outcries are unimaginable, really just unimaginable. We are not at all trained to beat down social riots, and even though our members generally do not have really extreme leftist sympathies, they are still and foremost military civilians. They react like civilians and many of them would never agree to take part in actions not related to their task. Which does not mean that they're sissies--most certainly not!" "I am convinced that no incidents will spoil today's presentation of the standard. If, however, that were the case, I assure you that I will only have to yell once for potential troublemakers to be taken care of."

The National Reserve Corps will have as many as 7,500 men in the immediate future; there is already such a rush that candidates are turned down by the hundreds. The Corp's primary task is the protection of military compounds, bridges, junctions of roads, radio and TV transmitters, etc.

"To that end we are lightly armed with sub-machineguns and rifles, an occasional machinegun and rocket launchers, but the fact that we operate in our own neighborhoods and know the terrain like the palm of our hand makes up for that "light armament." We know very well that we will be up against sabotage groups that are much more heavily armed, but our people are so fierce that this doesn't frighten us. But, of course, we have to be really tough, otherwise we'd be paper soldiers and not the fully qualified unit of the land forces that wins prizes time after time at shooting-matches and individual sport and marching contests."

Van Batenburg: "That's why I don't see women getting combat assignments here. It wouldn't add to our strength posture. But we do have some women volunteers in staff positions. One of these substituted for the Queen these past months when we were practising for the transfer of the standard. We've been working on this since February, and we have rehearsed the ceremony several times.

Everybody in the Corps realizes that today's show must be perfect, otherwise the whole country will think that this Natres isn't such a big deal after all."

12861

CSO: 3614/28

WOMEN'S SITUATION IN ARMED FORCES OUTLINED

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 7 Nov 84 p 41

[Article by Liv Hegna: "Girls Have Equal Rights in Norway"]

[Text] At present there is no compulsory military service for women in Norway, but those who want to can become soldiers. The Storting has also opened many military schools to women, including military academies for all branches of the service.

But it is first and foremost the vocational training the armed forces give which women are applying for. The last entrenchment won on this front is flight school. Besides, it is mostly women who can be found within areas like the medical corps, communications and the monitoring and warning service.

A good number of girls are also doing service as soldiers on a voluntary basis. At present there are about 20 girls on the UN mission in Lebanon. The Storting has decreed that Norwegian girls are not to do service in combat situations. However, a good definition of this concept has never been presented, so as the girls demonstrate that they are able to and want to, one door after the other is being opened.

The armed forces in Norway are occupied with giving girls and guys equal rights as much as possible. When lower requirements are imposed for physical strength in individual disciplines in Norway, it is first and foremost a manifestation of the fact that realities are viewed head on: The average girl is considered not to have the same amount of strength, especially in the upper part of the body, as the guys. Rather crass criticism has been raised against the armed forces for not marketing educational offerings well enough to young Norwegian girls facing vocational choices.

8985

CSO: 3639/26

BRIEFS

INFRASTRUCTURE FUNDS VOTED--This year Norway is giving 188 million kroner to NATO's so-called infrastructure program which, among other things, will cover the financing of the deployment of new medium-range missiles on the Western side. Of these 188 million kroner, Norway is giving 6.6 million kroner this year to cover its share of the costs associated with deployment of the missiles. Our account from the Storting's question period last Wednesday, which appeared in Thursday's morning edition, is therefore somewhat incomplete. To keep the record straight, it must be added that Norway this year is receiving 212 million kroner from NATO for various joint-financed installations in Norway. Accordingly, Norway this year, too, is getting more from NATO than we ourselves are contributing in direct support of the alliance. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 9 Nov 84 p 4] 8985

SUBMARINE HUNT CALLED OFF--On Thursday the armed forces concluded a futile search for a possible foreign submarine in Porsanger Fjord in Finnmark. Both helicopters, Orion airplanes and coast guard vessels have searched Porsanger Fjord since Monday on the basis of three reports regarding a possible foreign submarine in the area. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 9 Nov 84 p 4] 8985

CSO: 3639/26

BRIEFS

EEC FINANCING RETURNEES' TRAINING - The financing of a special occupational program for 8,000 repatriated emigrants and political refugees has been projected in the government's new 5-year plan. The program's total expenditure reaches about 900 million drachmas, half of which will be provided by the EEC. This was announced by the Ministry of Finance Special Adviser, Professor Stergios Babanasis, in his speech on the first day of the Panhellenic Conference's work on the theme of "Popular Training and Emigrants," held in Thessaloniki under the patronage of the Secretariat of Emigrant Greeks and of Popular Training. Mr. Babanasis emphasized that those special measures include the obligation for the state to find work for those repatriated, the creation for emigrants of conditions for professional activities, the recalling of Greek scientists who are famous abroad, the elaboration of programs of re-education for emigrants in professions which are in demand in Greece but which also favor their development etc. [Excerpt] [Athens TO VIMA in Greek 16 Oct 84 p 6] 12278

FOREIGN INVESTMENT INCREASE SOUGHT - The Minister of the National Economy, Mr. Rومeliotis, declared that he is determined to activate more energetically the mechanisms for the promotion of private enterprise and to reinforce the efforts of private investors with in-depth administrative reforms. "We have no time to spare for choosing methods of implementing an investment policy with loans and numerous incentives when other nations, members of the EEC, are making fast progress and gaining ground because of the recovery. Any kind of delay alters the cost of investments and makes them unprofitable," he declared yesterday to the press. Mr. Rومeliotis gave out the following information regarding the evolution of foreign capital investments (on the basis of the provisions of law N.2687/53): it concerns 42 cases of investments which took place during the 3-year period from 1981 to 1983 and are related to the branches of: processing agricultural products, batteries, wires, chemicals, petroleum products and construction. The capitals are of Arab, German, American, Finnish and Canadian origin. The following among those investments are distinguished: The Motor Oil Corporation, with \$25 million for the power station; the Agroinvest in the agricultural sector with \$5 billion, Arab capital; Hellas Prontax with 12 million deutsch marks; Hellenic Style with \$11 million for modernizing the steel industry; the Izara in Kavala, with \$6 million for a construction unit etc.; the Technimar from Bulgaria with \$1,700,000 for technical constructions; the Madeira for a logging unit with \$18 million. Referring, finally, to the case of the Aget cement industry investment categorization, which has been implemented without its being classified in the provisions of law N.1116/80 (when it was required), Mr. Rومeliotis said that the commission on law N.1262/82 had unanimously approved the classification of the investment in the provisions of the above law. [By G. Kraloglou] [Excerpt] [Athens TO VIMA in Greek 17 Oct 84 p 17] 12278

CSO: 3521/53

'DOXA' OPINION POLL ON UNEMPLOYMENT, INFLATION

Milan MONDO ECONOMICO in Italian 11 Oct 84 pp 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 46

[Article by Orazio M. Petracca: What Is The Ideal? To Be Employed and Deprived"]

[Text] What is the connection between the [existing] problems of the economic crisis, the way these problems are being dealt with by the leading political characters - the government, the parties, and the organized social forces - and, finely, the way in which all of this is perceived by the greater part of public opinion in general and, in particular, by the working class?

One does not have to be a genius in order to get the feeling that the connections between the three sides of the triangle are not straightforward. However, if one reads the results of the latest DOXA-24 ORE poll, at first glance, things seem to be worse than they are actually thought to be. In order to obtain helpful information, i.e., to understand the mood (or the bad mood) of the so-called [real country], one has to read between the lines and try to grasp the possible meaning, the hard reality, of some of the attitudes which (in themselves) are only reactions to developments of the political and social events of the time. This has to be gathered from the complex general lists (which provide the raw material not only for the questions but also for the most casual superficial answers). The opinion poll (whose results have now been made available), was taken last spring at the end of May and the first of June when the battle over the San Valentino decree was nearing its end and was at its most acrimonious. This decree was not only a clash between the government majority and the left-wing opposition, but also (and from a political point of view) foremost, a clash between the Communists and the Socialists. That is, a [left-wing duel], which because of its asperity and the extent of its implications, is without precedent in the history of the Italian political system. It is, therefore, a poll which is definitely [dated], which does not let us draw any specific conclusions from some of the results (and this could only be, but certainly is - from a certain point of view - a limitation). However, for this very same reason, it lets us draw some important conclusions especially as far as the relationship between economic crisis, social integration, and political representation (or rather political-unionist representation) is concerned.

During these last four months the economic situation, or at least the climate of hope, has changed (even if ever so slightly). Perhaps it is a change perceived more by the experts than by the greater part of public opinion. However, as far as the key to interpretation is concerned (like the one suggested here), it would not change the terms of the matter.

The whole world is called upon. Let us hear this sample of 2,047 Italian citizens said when interviewed by DOXA, together with a [secondary sample] of 417 workers (made up by adding 209 more workers to the number, which was the [worker's quota] in the selected sample of the population as a whole]. On the whole, the current economic crisis is viewed as a condition which deeply influences everyday life. Moreover, it is becoming worse or, at least, has been growing worse recently. However, this fact is not excessively dramatized. In both the total population and the working class (between the two samplings there are no significant differences in answer to these questions even if the workers appeared slightly more [pessimistic], the majority of the people interviewed believe that their families' purchasing power has decreased with respect to last year. A clearcut majority think that it has decreased only [a little bit], compared to those who find it [very much] decreased. About 10 percent of the people registered an increase in purchasing power. At the same time the majority of the people interviewed believe that the [economic situation in Italy has become worse] during the last year. A majority believes it worsened only [slightly] compared to those who believe it worsened [very much]. And here, too, we find not only the difference between the two samples is insignificant, but that it also results in the same trend already reported.

However, what is understood by economic crisis? Although there is no such specific question, the poll provides an indirect answer which leaves no room for doubt. The economic crisis means [unemployment] for the majority of Italian citizens (58 percent) and for an overwhelming majority of the working class (71 percent). Since the poll is meant to show those problems which are considered to be the [most serious and most urgent] -- those which [the government should resolve within the next few months] -- the unemployment theme is predominant. It is followed at a distance by the delinquency and crime problems. (The drug problem is also included therein, thanks to the idealistic and humane viewpoint which, we fear, reflects a community spirit.)

Regarding other problems of an economic nature, the one concerning the stability of the Lira got 15 percent of the vote -- with a barely noticeable increase on the part of the workers. The housing problem, which is of such topical interest, remains in the background and is barely mentioned by 10 percent of the population and by less than 9 percent of the workers. Problems relating to pensions are more important to the total population, while the workers show at least as much interest in fiscal problems, which essentially means that they are interested in the problems of fairness in taxation -- which is evident from other poll data.

All the aspects of inflation. At this point the first basic break in the circuit of connections between economic crisis, political dealings, and social awareness emerges. And at this level the critical subject is the one of inflation.

As we have already seen, the majority of the people interviewed believe that their purchasing power has already decreased (more or less noticeably) and tends to decrease even further. Moreover, as a whole, the population is evaluating fairly well the causes as well as (partially) the effects of inflation. The "cost increase in products imported from abroad [raw materials should probably also be included here] is in first place among the reasons for inflation. The total population put the "increase in production cost of Italian products" in second place, while the workers put "increase in government spending" in second place - a difference in opinion which makes sense. With regard to the effects of inflation, the total population and the workers believe that the most serious ones are those relating to the "reduction in purchasing power" and, in second place, to the "reduction in employment".

However, this is only one side of the answers. There is also "another side", but putting them both together would be difficult.

In the meantime, only a scant 11 percent of the population and 12 percent of the workers could state fairly accurately last year's inflation rate. When it came to knowing what the top inflation ceiling planned by the government for 1984 was, as many as 43 percent of the total population and 37 percent of the workers explicitly declared to have no knowledge whatsoever; while only about one-fifth of the total population and slightly more than one-fourth of the workers could answer correctly. However, this means less than nothing in light of the jumble of conflicting figures (at least in the eyes of the public at large) which pour out helter-skelter from various sources every day, starting with the government. More significant yet are the facts regarding the effects of inflation. Both sectors of the sample, when pressed for answers, could not adequately understand that the higher the rate of inflation stays (in comparison to that of other countries with which Italy competes), the more this results in a "reduction in exports".

Where things really go wrong is when they speak of inflation as a subject that has to be considered a political matter, i.e., they want government intervention. On this level the inflation problem does not get any priority whatsoever -- as we have already seen -- but the solution they suggest is contradictory, under some aspects, to the diagnosis given by the same concerned persons. There is only one relative discrepancy (i.e., not wanting to look too closely) up to the point where most information focusses on such subjects as "reduction of tax evasion" which is matched, on the other side of the coin, by reduction in government spending and reevaluation for improving its use of funds.

There is, however, an obvious contradiction when the whole main theme relative to labor costs is being ignored for all practical purposes, and

far greater emphasis is being given to "government price control" (while "price increase by merchants" -- an expression which should probably be interpreted [in a broad sense] as also including the increase in manufacturing prices -- is considered an important element in the rise of inflation). In this regard we also notice that a significant number of the people interviewed, especially among the workers, realize that price control would only delay the problem for a short time and that then, in all probability, the increase would be larger and harder to bear.

The most obvious explanation of this attitude in which the inflation problem is at the same time denounced and dismissed [or at least exorcised] with sham remedies, lead us to that widespread state of affairs, i.e., poor knowledge of actual problems and of proposals which are being discussed in order to find a way to solve them or (at least) to face them. This is clearly shown in this poll by a series of data that is almost too probing along these lines and, in some cases, is really shocking. What is really shocking is, for example -- but this is not merely an example -- that only 58 percent of the workers and barely 48 percent of the total population stated that they had some information -- even if only via "some talk they had heard" -- about the very long and painful occurrence which took place last year: last winter's so-called "triangular" negotiations between government, contractors, and unions. Moreover, one has to be amazed, that when it came to stating precisely "what the parties wanted to do", only 54 percent of the workers and barely 44 percent of the total population (among those who had stated that they even knew about it) could give an answer that is substantially correct.

What happened on 14 February? To tell the truth, whoever formulated the question -- in preparing the questionnaire on which the poll was taken -- when he was speaking of an attempt to find a way towards "reducing price increases and inflation" certainly did not make the task of the interviewees any easier. We all know that the very same San Valentino decree even if it was (and still is) actually called in all communications from Government sources an "anti-inflationary" decree, has always been called not only in the opposition's language but also in the current jargon as "the decree of the cost of living adjustment". Under this label it is indeed almost too well known to the overwhelming majority of Italians.

However, these remarks (even though still marginal in themselves) give us a glimpse of how the greater part of public opinion (including the greater part of the working class) gets to "know" the problems associated with the economic situation or, at least, the subject under discussion regarding the economic situation which takes place at the political level.

There is an aspect of the issue which obviously involves the structures and the mechanisms of the mass media: where they tend to publicize the "taking of a stand" by the concerned parties or by the so-called "experts", rather than to adhere to their chief duty, which is to inform

the people about what is really being discussed fully and comprehensively. As a consequence, the very idea of "fair" information is now mainly understood only in the sense of giving space (even if only by allotment method) to all who represent "some position of political or social interest". In other words, as far as the mass media are concerned -- and in particular, the government's information service -- the tendency to promote the importance of the "debate" rather than the importance of the basic information should again be brought up for public examination. This sort of thing is happening now with a logic native to a pluralistic system. However, in reality, most of the time they reflect a concept of journalism as a "show" rather than the simple matter of prioritizing one's own work.

However, this is only one aspect of the issue which (even if it is not really minor) can still be considered as a side issue in comparison to the crucial point. This point is, at a first approximation, that the problems of the economic situation seem to cross the threshold of the [popular awareness] (as it is usually called) more as subjects of the political battle (i.e., when they are understood and treated as an issue of party alignments), than as problems of "day-to-day life" (i.e., the way in which each persons understands such problems or has to endure them when he encounters them in the course of time). However, with a more or less mediated approach, there are already whole series of polls which offer the same or at least similar results.

The weight of alignments. For example, according to the same DOXA-24 ORE poll conducted last year on the eve of the electoral campaign, it was clearly shown that the themes of economic politics did not make any difference in the opinion of the voters. They were inclined to vote for one or the other party until they became involved in a matter of alignment. That is, they became so-called "topics of appraisal". However, I had already reached this conclusion some 20 years ago when I was studying the platforms offered by the parties for the 1963 elections. (It does mean something, naturally, that the situation has not changed since then, or has only changed in the sense that -- to say it in Ugo La Malfa's words -- the topics of alignment have the tendency always to prevail over the topics of contents).

According to such premises, and taking into consideration (on the one hand) that the economic crisis is being essentially identified and reduced in the people's minds to the immediate and specific problem of unemployment and, (on the other hand) that the political debate does not relate to the subject of economic problems, but if it does relate at all, it adds that subject to the debates on economic matters, we should not be surprised at the attitudes of the total population and, in particular, of the workers. These attitudes are shown in the poll with regard to the various measures included in that "protocol agreement" which was then accomplished, in part by the cost of living adjustment decree (with all its appurtenances), in part by subsequent bills (like the one on rent control), and again in part by other measures (which, in short, from certain points of view -- to be honest -- have yet to be carried out.)

And it is even less surprising that, in the same way the government made the decision then (by giving it the form of a decree but the essence of a social agreement made only with one faction of the unions). The plan for an advantage in the "political game" was clear with respect to the plan regarding costs and benefits in strictly economic terms. In practice, since mounting an agreement with all the unions proved to be unfeasible because of an inflexible Communist opposition (which was opposition to the government rather than to the proposals), Craxi could have opted for an "authoritative" decision. That is, a decision taken by the government itself on the basis of its constitutional authority (hopefully, a decision of a permanent nature that would affect the structural elements which cause distortion in the cost of living adjustment). The Prime Minister chose, instead, a kind of "third road", making the decree look like the content of the agreement concluded with the non-Communist sectors of the union (who hastened to claim paternity in a series of statements by Carniti which, from the Government's point of view as the constitutional authority, were the worst things that could have been said.) Thus was born the misunderstanding of a controversy in which, on the one hand, one praised a Government finally capable of applying the "majority rule" (while in reality it was the union that seized a decision-making role by even usurping the power of Parliament), and on the other hand, was railing against the government which even went so far as to violate the "autonomy of the social factions". In reality, however, in order to guarantee itself the backing of the non-Communist sectors of the unions, the Government has paid (in terms of economic contents and constitutional concessions), the same price it would have paid for a genuine "social agreement".

It makes sense now to remember all of this when reading the results of the poll, because it was the first step on a road which then was taken and continued on to the end by the Communist Party. And the PCI has not only given to its opposition, in Parliament and in the Country, a character of "extreme" intransigence (which did not even spend itself with the filibuster -- it is still going on through their taking the initiative and calling for a referendum for the purpose of regaining the points lost in the cost of living legislation cut from the decree) but has also emphasized the political aspect of the matter in such a way that -- in the end -- the economic problem, if not completely forgotten, has become only a rather vague and confused idea. This is confirmed by the poll. Therefore, if the results of the poll are read in the light of these observations, they become perfectly plausible, especially where they mention that two thirds of the workers and a bare half of the total population (to be exact 46.4 percent) are not against a cut in the cost of living adjustment, as effected by the San Valentino decree, while about 87 percent of both groups approve of a (partial) cost control in some public services and some products as well as of a (temporary) rent control. The latter, however, shows a slightly lower approval rate (74 percent of the population and almost 81 percent of the workers).

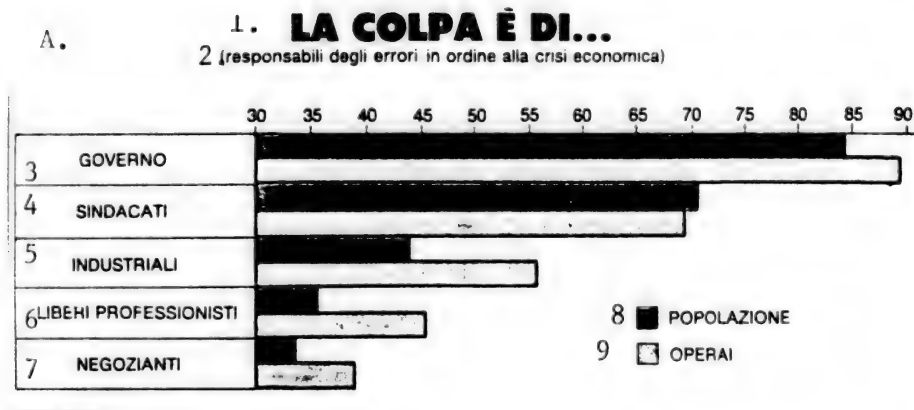
One only has to skim through the information furnished by the same poll on who, according to the interviewees, "made mistakes" with regard to the political crisis, to notice that the subject has to be developed in greater depth to try to analyze the relation between political treatment and social awareness of the crisis.

The data quoted in the graph on page 37 summarize the opinions expressed from this point of view, on various constitutional subjects or social categories, which, one way or other, could be criticized. It already tells a lot about what the prevailing trends are in both the general population and the working class. However, even more significant is at whose door the so-called "blame" was laid where the people had to answer more specific questions about "who made more mistakes". What happened then was that the absolute majority focused on the government: a good 54 percent of the general population and almost 60 percent of the workers. The unions are in second place -- with 25 and 22 percent respectively -- followed at a great distance by the various social categories at almost insignificant levels. These include the industrialists on whom 4.3 percent of the general population and 6.7 percent of the workers laid blame. However, employed workers were exonerated from any responsibility not only in their own but also in the eyes of all the interviewees, for they did not pick up more than 1 percent of the votes).

To be sure, the answers to this question as well as the ones on the measures of 14 February were especially influenced (more than the other data) by the political and social climate at the time when the poll was taken. However, here too we have a first indication -- confirmed and reinforced by a whole series of other poll results (as we will see in the second part of this article) that the way the crisis is understood by the citizens (and primarily by the workers) -- even if its "representation" has been screened by the political and unionist powers -- including, of course, the government itself -- it still ends up placing blame on these same powers. In the sense that it triggers an attitude through which, if not immediately challenged (by a small minority), the establishment's role in political and unionist representation will be questioned as to how it is being worked out, or rather carried out, by those who are actually being asked to interpret it. In fact, on the whole, all the main results of this poll are strongly marked by an attitude which, in its most immediate aspects, is of a defensive nature. This is due, first of all, obviously, to the economic crisis itself. This is not the sole factor (but it still remains -- if there is any need to reconfirm it -- the primary element). It becomes fairly clear from the poll itself that by trying -- as we said before -- to find such information by reading between the lines, one finds something else which directly concerns the relation between the social base and the political-unionist representation. And this basic element which, in reality, acts like a conditioning element for the social attitudes towards the crisis (and mainly toward the way in which it should be dealt with on the political as well as the social level) is due to a fault (or at least a defect) in the relationship of trust between the popular base and the political-unionist representation.

In the meantime, the split personality syndrome (not to mention schizophrenia) between the social understanding of the crisis as a problem of unemployment and its political treatment as a problem of inflation takes on at this point a more complex meaning -- it cannot be simply blamed on those who are "ignorant". To be sure, it depends at least in part on the difference in wavelength between those who support the plans of "government culture" (which, however is not to become a widespread political awareness) and those who in turn support the plans of a "culture of opposition" (which does not exclude the Government's responsibility but actually puts it in brackets). It mainly depends on the fact that neither the political forces nor the great organized social forces have in reality, in their public statements, a comprehensive interpretation of the crisis which (over and above its partial and most immediate aspects -- that is in a nutshell, the problem of unemployment as well as the problem of inflation) should be established as a field of action where a goal can be outlined that, no matter how difficult to attain, should be worthwhile. The whole meeting on the future which was organized by the Italian Manufacturers' Association last spring in Milan was based on a crisis interpretation which rejected the idea of a crash -- as Craxi was happy to note -- and interpreted it instead as a movement from one already worn state of balance to another state still richer in promises and openings. There is, however, no escape from this crisis. It would not be nor need be part of a general political pattern; and it is exactly this political confusion which stands out most clearly in this poll.

C H A R T S

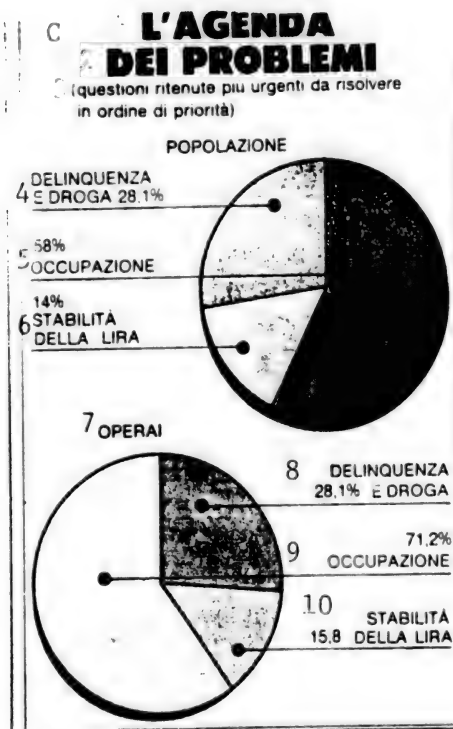


- A. 1. It is the fault of ...
 2. (those responsible for mistakes in economic crisis in order or priority)
 3. Government
 4. Unions
 5. Industrialists
 6. Self-Employed Professionals
 7. Merchants
 8. Population
 9. Workers

B. List of Worries

Which is the most serious and urgent problem in Italy, i.e., the one which the Government should resolve within the coming months? (Percentage of total sample)

	Total Population	Total Workers
Problem of unemployment	58,0	71,2
Fiscal system, taxes	6,3	8,4
School system	1,4	0,7
Medical system	5,1	3,1
Pension system	9,7	6,2
Stability of the Lira	14,0	15,8
Problem of public and private econ.	7,8	6,0
Housing problem	9,5	8,6
Delinquency and crime problem	28,1	28,1
Government	4,6	7,7
Present political picture	1,4	1,0
Other answers	7,9	6,5
Don't know, no answer	3,3	1,7



- C. 1. The agenda of the problems
2. (problems which need the most urgent solution in order of priority)
3. Population
4. Delinquency and drugs 28,1 percent
5. 58 percent - employment
6. 14 percent - stability of the Lira
7. Workers
8. Delinquency and drugs 28, 1 percent
9. 71,2 percent - employment
10. 15,8 percent - stability of the Lira

D. Degrees of Optimism

Has the economic situation in Italy improved or worsened during the last 12 months? (percentage of total sample)

	Total Population	Total Workers
Improved very much	1,3	1,2
Improved somewhat	19,3	15,3
Remained the same	23,1	18,9
Worsened somewhat	29,3	33,6
Worsened considerably	25,1	29,3
Don't know	2,0	1,7



- E. 1. Inflation can be beaten
 2. (measures to be taken in order of priority)
 3. Reduce tax evasion
 4. Better use of public funds
 5. Price control
 6. Reduce Government spending
 7. 69,3 percent population
 8. 74,1 percent workers
 9. 49,2 percent population
 10. 50,1 percent workers
 11. 43,3 percent population
 12. 46,0 percent workers
 13. 40,0 percent population
 14. 42,2 percent workers
 15. Note: restraint on increase in wages and salaries received few votes: 18,2 population, 13,4 workers



- F. 1. What is known about the economy
2. (degree of knowledge of the main problems)
3. 1983 rate of inflation
4. Known by
5. 10,7 percent population
6. 12 percent workers
7. Rate of inflation estimated for 1984
8. Known by
9. 20,3 percent population
10. 25,9 percent workers
11. February agreement
12. Had not heard any talk about it
13. 51,7 percent population
14. 42 percent workers

G. The Causes of Inflation

When we talk about inflation and price increases in Italy many different reasons, right or wrong, are stated. Which is the most important reason? (percentage of total sample)

	Total Population	Total Workers
Price increase in foreign products	44,5	51,3
Production cost increase of Italian products	19,4	13,2
Increase in Government spending	17,5	17,7
Increases in profit-taking on the parts of industries	3,4	4,3

(cont'd)

	Total Population	Total Workers
Prices increases by merchants	12,6	11,0
Other answers	1,1	0,7
Don't know, no answer	2,8	2,6

H. ...and the effects

Some effects of inflation are shown on this list. Which is the most serious one...? (Percentage of total sample)

	Total Population	Total Workers
Reduces the purchasing power	47,6	45,6
Reduces exports	13,9	15,3
Reduces employment	37,1	39,6
Other answers	0,1	--
Don't know, no answer	2,8	0,7

I. Flat is not beautiful

If all the increases in the cost of living adjustment continue to be the same for everybody, that is for the high wages and for the low wages, the differences in salaries (for example, between the more skilled employees and those less skilled) will become smaller and smaller. Is this right or wrong? (Percentage on total sample)

	Total Population	Total Workers
It is right	39,7	47,2
It is wrong	43,5	40,3
Don't know	16,9	12,5

CSO: 3528/8

COALITION PARTIES DISAGREE ON TAX POLICY

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 7 Nov 84 p 3

[Article: "Tension in the Dutch Cabinet: Disputed Tax Allowance for Workers"]

[Text] Brussels, 5 November--The Dutch government tried Monday to stem the conflict that has broken out between the majority parties, the Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) and the Liberals (VVD [People's Party for Freedom and Democracy]), concerning the level of a tax allowance for workers. The ill-will between the two parties cannot be simply explained as due only to the object of dispute, which seems trivial to begin with; people in government circles in The Hague have said that the issue itself is not worth the fuss that the two adversaries are making about it.

Unemployed at the Center of Attention

At the heart of the matter is the financial treatment of employed and unemployed workers. The CDA fears that the undersecretary for finance's bill could lead to unjustified advantages for workers who have a position, while the unemployed would be left empty-handed. The Christian Democrats demand, then, that the disputed general allowance be lowered, while the Liberals want to accept the proposal as presented by the cabinet. The problematic becomes explosive because it can easily be interpreted in the sense of a fundamental reproach made by the Social Democratic opposition to the right-centrist government, namely that they are pursuing a de facto division of Dutch society into employed and unemployed such that certain privileges would still be granted to the employed, while the army of unemployed and those dependent on welfare appear in the mind of the cabinet, if need be, as the object of possible cuts.

Division of Society?

Two incidents embarrassing to the government have recently given the critics new ammunition. After an initial denial, Prime Minister Lubbers had to concede that, contrary to assurances made in the 1985 budget, the position of someone drawing minimum wage will worsen next year. A short time later, Finance Minister Ruding caused a storm of indignation when he noted, in a conversational tone, that the unemployed youth are to a large extent

themselves responsible for their situation as many make no effort at all to find a job. Last week, a survey revealed that the Social Democrats would emerge the undisputed winner if parliamentary elections were to be held now. The CDA, on the other hand, would be further decimated and even the Liberals would have to give up so many seats that the coalition would no longer hold the majority. No sooner than at this moment did the Christian Democrats find themselves forced to act. The conflict with their liberal coalition partner was sharpened rather than reined in, in order to bring their own social ambitions out in public.

The strained relationship between the heads of the two parties, De Vries (CDA) and Nijpels (VVD), intensified this. Nijpels exploited the fact that even the CDA members in the cabinet had been in agreement with the proposed legislation to repeat his favorite reproach: The CDA is unreliable; at this point, one can no longer depend on any agreements made with them at all. De Vries, who particularly wants to get away from an image of insufficient determination and clarity, reacted promptly by cancelling the weekly meeting of the party heads to make his displeasure clear. Meanwhile, the Finance Ministry's negotiators are trying to sound out the chances for an intricate compromise devised in the cabinet. This is supposed to make it possible for the CDA to save face without further delaying the legislative process.

12507

CSO: 3620/105

STATISTICAL OVERVIEW OF REGIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT

Madrid EL ALCAZAR in Spanish 29 Oct 84 p 12

[Text] The policy of regional autonomy has not even helped to check the growth of unemployment as initially expected. On the contrary, since the promulgation of the constitution establishing the foundations of the autonomous state, 1,730,000 more people have joined the ranks of the unemployed. According to figures issued by the General Technical Department of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, there were 912,800 people without jobs in 1978. By the end of the second quarter of this year, the unemployment figure stood at 2,645,000 up by nearly 400,000 compared to the same time in 1983. Comparing figures for these two dates, only one autonomous region, Navarra, shows a slight decrease in the unemployment rate which dropped from 27,400 to 26,000. This drop of 1,400 is in contrast with the numbers registered in the other 16 regions where unemployment went up and the biggest increase was in Andalucia where 135,600 additional people joined the ranks of the unemployed from the end of the second quarter of 1983 to the same time this year.

Overall, and from the date when the autonomy policy went into effect until June this year, Catalonia is the region where unemployment is growing at the fastest rate with 355,100 people, followed by Andalucia where 316,400 people became jobless.

Below we detail the changes in unemployment figures for the period between June 1983 and June 1984, region by region, and we compare today's figures to those for 1978:

Andalucia--In 1978, it had 231,000 unemployed. In June of last year the unemployment figure was 411,800 and by the end of the second quarter of this year it was 547,400. Since the first date mentioned, 316,400 additional people became unemployed.

Aragon--Since the policy of autonomy went into effect, there had been 42,600 additional people unemployed. In 1978, 20,300 people did not have jobs. By the end of June 1983, there were 54,000 jobless and a year later they numbered 65,100.

Asturias--At the end of June of this year, 61,500 persons were unemployed. Twelve months earlier, 55,300 were without jobs and by the end of 1978 their number was 22,500 which means 39,000 less than in June of this year.

Balearic Islands--In 1978, the official number of jobless people was 10,000. In June of 1983, 34,100 people were unemployed and in June of this year their number was 38,400 which means an increase of 28,400 between December 1978 and June 1984.

Canary Islands--At the end of the second quarter of this year, 130,600 people were without jobs. Twelve months earlier their number was 102,400. Back in 1978, there were 44,900 unemployed. Since then, 85,700 more people have joined the ranks of the unemployed in the islands.

Cantabria--In 1978, it had 8,400 unemployed. In June 1983, their number was 20,300 and in June of this year it was 28,800. Since autonomy went into effect, 20,400 more people have joined the ranks of the jobless.

Castilla-La Mancha--By the end of June this year, 77,700 people were unemployed. Twelve months earlier there were 71,100 and 32,400 in December 1978, which means that since that time 45,300 additional people have joined the ranks of the unemployed.

Castilla-Leon--In June of last year, there were 109,300 unemployed. Twelve months later their number climbed to 127,800. In December 1978, it was 45,500. Since then 82,300 additional people have become unemployed.

Catalonia--In December 1978, there were 137,700 unemployed. In June 1983, their number was 485,300 and in June this year 492,800 persons were without jobs. During the period from 1978 to June of this year, 355,100 additional persons became unemployed.

Valencia Region--In December 1978, 60,900 persons did not have jobs. In June 1983, their number was 223,400 and in June of this year it was 261,900. Between 1978 and June of this year, the ranks of the unemployed has swollen by 201,000.

Extremadura--By the end of June of this year, 83,300 people were unemployed. A year ago that figure was 51,100. Between 1978 and June of this year, the ranks of the unemployed have increased by 49,600 since 33,700 persons were unemployed in 1978.

Galicia--The unemployment figure for 1978 was 29,600. In June of this year that figure was 128,600 and a year ago it was 113,600. Since 1978, 99,000 additional persons have become unemployed.

Madrid--In the second quarter of this year, 331,600 people were unemployed. A year ago the number of people without jobs was 274,800. During the period from 1978 to the second quarter of this year, 185,500 more people became unemployed.

Murcia--Between June 1983 and June 1984, the number of people unemployed increased by 1,100 to a total of 50,000. But since 1978, 31,600 additional people have joined the ranks of the unemployed.

Navarra--Is the only region where the figures for the last 2 years show a decrease in unemployment. In June 1983, 27,400 people were unemployed and in June of this year their number was 26,000. Since 1978, the ranks of the unemployed has increased by 15,900.

Basque Country--In December 1978, there were 58,800 unemployed. In June 1983, 163,700 persons did not have jobs and by the end of the first half of this year that figure was 183,100. Since 1978, 124,300 more people became unemployed.

La Rioja--Between 1978 and June of this year, 7,900 people lost their jobs and the unemployment figure jumped from 2,500 in December 1978 to 10,400 in June of this year. In June of 1983, 9,400 people were unemployed.

8796

CSO: 3548/35

OBJECTION TO BRITISH EEC-GIBRALTAR LINKAGE

Madrid YA in Spanish 30 Oct 84 p 5

[Text] The pleasure expressed by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher "over the progress achieved during the contacts between Geoffrey Howe and Fernando Moran on the question of Gibraltar," in a letter to Prime Minister Gonzalez supporting Spain's entry into the EEC, is not the kind of pleasure which calls for exultation on our part. The illustrious lady drops that reference to Gibraltar with deliberate and calculated ambiguity. There is no reason on our part to interpret this as meaning that Mrs Thatcher is softening her colonialist policy towards the rock and is ready to seek a compromise similar to the one reached with the Chinese over Hong Kong. One should rather fear the opposite, that when she mentions Gibraltar in connection with British support for our entry into the EEC her purpose is to link both issues to strengthen her interests and that she intends that reference to be a reminder of the fact that she expects the iron gates to be completely opened before the Parliament in Westminster ratifies Spain's membership in the Common Market.

The economic problems facing Gibraltar could be resolved if, under the protective umbrella of the EEC, Gibraltar was turned into a big tax-free shop where Spaniards and foreign tourists, traveling from La Linea, went to do their shopping. And this is precisely what Spain must avoid not so much because Gibraltar, under British sovereignty, would become a parasite living at our expense, but because if it became a good business for Great Britain that fact would help to perpetuate its "colonial" status. The EEC cannot be used as a smokescreen to maintain the last colony in Europe.

The customs post at La Linea will not disappear when Spain joins the EEC because all goods from countries which are members of the community will continue to be subject to customs duties on entering Spain's fiscal territory. Gibraltar enjoys special treatment under the Community's Customs Union and the only goods which are not subject to external tariffs are those manufactured in Gibraltar itself providing that the raw materials used do not come from a third country.

Spain's membership in the EEC will also entail obligations on the part of Great Britain such as to allow freedom of movement for capital and workers so that Spaniards are allowed to stay in Gibraltar overnight, can buy real estate and open a business there. It will not be possible for Great Britain to keep workers out of Gibraltar by using the 7-year transition period which the EEC is seeking to impose on Spanish immigration to the countries of northern Europe.

Nor will it be possible, regardless of the EEC, to jointly use Gibraltar Airport as long as Great Britain does not recognize that the isthmus is Spanish territory which was not surrendered under the Treaty of Utrecht but was subsequently encroached by the English. Moran brought this fact to Howe's attention several times in the course of the contacts mentioned by the Prime Minister. The only possible solution to the dispute over Gibraltar is to give us back sovereignty over the territory of the colony and Spain, in or out of the EEC, will never surrender its legitimate right.

8796

CSO: 3548/35

STATISTICS ON 9-MONTH BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IMPROVEMENT

Madrid ABC in Spanish 25 Oct 84 p 63

[Article by Javier Ayuso]

[Text] The current balance of payments registered a surplus of \$1.157 billion at the end of the third quarter of this year, according to the latest official data reported to ABC. This figure reflects an improvement of \$4 billion over the deficit recorded for the same period last year. Foreign reserves of gold and foreign exchange amounted to \$15.676 billion.

The main reason for this improvement in the balance of payments, which has been evident throughout the year, is a change in the behavior of the trade in goods. The increase in exports and a freeze on imports resulted in a reduction in the trade deficit of more than \$3 billion, as it went from \$6.661 billion for the January-September 1983 period to \$3.476 billion this year.

In conjunction with this improvement in foreign trade, the balance of services also recorded improved results in comparison with the previous year, moving from a positive balance of \$2.941 billion in 1983 to \$4.022 billion in 1984. This stemmed from a natural increase in income from tourism, along with a reduction in payments. Transfers, for their part, shrank slightly.

Total income on current balance for the period in question was \$29.925 billion, compared to \$27.551 billion for January-September 1983. Payments declined from \$30.394 billion last year to \$28.768 billion for January-September 1984.

The official data also indicated the progression of long-term capital payments and income, which showed a positive balance of \$2.940 billion. According to what ABC was told, the main factors which contributed to this increase in income were foreign investment and inflows of foreign currency from credits from abroad. With regard to investments, the balance moved from \$1.012 billion for the first 9 months of 1983 to \$1.452 billion this fiscal year. The situation was similar for foreign credits, although large increases in both income and payments were recorded.

This is attributed to the heavy activity of the public sector in foreign markets, paying off previous credits and negotiating new, more interesting foreign currency transactions. Income under this item was \$5.774 billion, with payments of \$3.799 billion.

This improvement in the trade balance led to a further increase in the level of foreign reserves of gold and foreign exchange, which was at \$15.676 billion at the end of September. In September, the increase was only 52 million, and the total for the first 9 months of the year was over 4 billion. This figure is expected to continue to move upward until the end of the fiscal year, as a result of the favorable behavior of exports and the slump in purchases abroad.

1984 Foreign Reserves (in millions of dollars)

January	11,742
February	12,217
March	12,321
April	13,158
May	13,485
June	13,703
July	14,681
August	15,624
September	15,676

Source: Bank of Spain

Cumulative Balance of Payments: January-September 1984
(In millions of dollars)

<u>Item</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Payments</u>	<u>Balance</u>
Imports	-	19,641	-19,641
Exports	16,165	-	16,165
Trade Balance	16,165	19,641	- 3,476
Services	12,516	8,504	4,022
Transfers	1,233	623	610
Current Balance	29,925	28,768	1,157
Long-term capital	8,644	5,704	2,940
Basic Balance	38,568	34,471	4,097

Source: Bank of Spain

9805

CSO: 3548/31

OVERVIEW OF SPANISH DEBT RESTRUCTURING STRATEGY

Madrid ABC in Spanish 25 Oct 84 p 65

[Article by Jose Maria de Urquijo]

[Text] Treasury Director General Raimundo Ortega has restructured Spain's \$1.3 billion foreign debt. The latest operation for this purpose was approved by the government yesterday, when it awarded a contract to Morgan Guaranty Trust to administer an issue of Floating Rate Notes (FRN) valued at \$500 million, at a term of 15 years and an interest rate $1/8$ over LIBOR [London Interbank Offered Rate], at $11\ 3/4$ yesterday.

The government has designed this policy to take advantage of the liquidity on the market, a drop in interest rates, and the prestige enjoyed by the country, in order to bring down the cost of its foreign debt.

The operations recently approved by the treasury to this end, aside from the one already indicated, include an operation currently managed by Merrill Lynch involving RUF (Revolving Underwriting Facilities) valued at \$500 million and another involving various currencies, including Japanese yen and Swiss francs, for \$300 million.

These credits will not appear on the government's accounts as new debts, since they will be used to cancel out operations approved earlier at higher rates and on stricter conditions. Aside from the good terms, one of the most important considerations in pursuing the operation was the net cost to the treasury. In this specific case, the net annual cost is 21 basic points over LIBOR. When the government had to borrow on these markets at a time when conditions were less favorable, it had to contract for credits at 36 basic points over LIBOR. Obviously, the improvement in interest rates and terms and the reduction of these basic points are what led Raimundo Ortega to pursue a policy to pay off these earlier debts.

Although for the time being Spain does not intend to increase its current debt, since it has reached the ceiling assigned for this year, reliable sources have told ABC that they would not rule out the possibility of further similar arrangements. The abundance of bids for this transaction exceeded all expectations. Even as late as yesterday afternoon, when it was assumed that the government had already more or less decided, various agencies submitted very attractive plans.

Financial experts consulted by ABC confirmed the trend to improvement on the international markets, which is expected to last for several months. The strategy that the treasury is employing with the state is similar to what the government is doing with credits to the public sector that go on the market with the government's guarantee.

9805

CSO: 3548/31

AGRARIAN REFORM SEEN AS SECTORAL 'DISMANTLEMENT'

Madrid ABC in Spanish 21 Oct 84 p 59

[Article by Jovellanos]

[Text] The reordering, reorganization, or whatever euphemism might be used to cover up the real dismantling planned for the agrarian sector is no less thorough nor less painful than the one being carried out in industry. The fact that it is less spectacular, that it occupies less space in the media, and that it has not had such a strong impact on public opinion is due primarily to the special structure of this sector, which is spread all throughout Spain, instead of occupying just a few nerve centers, and also to the fact that it mainly affects people who work on their own, instead of concentrations of salaried workers.

More agricultural subsectors are to be "reordered" than those affected by the industrial "reorganization," and the restrictions that will be imposed on production capacity in some of them will be greater in terms of percentages than the largest cutbacks in industry. Everything began some years ago, for reasons emanating from Spain's entry in the European Economic Community, it was said, although at that time the official talks with the EEC had not yet begun. There were plans to reorder Spain's vineyards and olive groves, two of the base crops of Spain's agriculture, which have a strong incidence on our export balance. Since then, in just a little over a year plans have appeared curtailing other products, other crops, under one pretext or another. This has happened with tobacco and sugar beets.

But the cutbacks that are going to be imposed on farm production, without even considering the possibility of replacement crops, proceed not only from these reordering or reorganization plans, but also from deterrent measures that will force farmers to restrict production. This is the case with corn.

The minister of agriculture at one point said that corn was a grain whose cultivation should be encouraged, and that this was the policy of the ministry of agriculture, in order to avoid burdening Spain's foreign trade balance with the necessity of importing over 5 million tons of corn every year. But just a few days afterward, corn was hit with a tax, the ITE [expansion unknown]. The reason alleged is that the ministry of finance felt that the process of drying the grain, to remove part of the moisture it contains when harvested (if it were not dried there would be a serious risk of rotting), was an industrial operation transforming the crop, and therefore the resulting product was subject to such a tax.

The impact caused by the policy of state aid for particular crops, particular products, is also having a serious effect on agricultural production. This aid, in the form of subsidies, low interest, and midterm loans, had been established as a stimulus to promote the production of goods of which Spain had a deficit, as a way of providing an incentive to boost our own production. But most of the time such aid was only a compensation agreed upon to hold prices below production costs--such was the case with diesel fuel and fertilizer subsidies--thus keeping the IPC [expansion unknown] at the level the government wanted. And then, without raising prices for the producers, most of this aid and assistance has either disappeared or been diverted to other purposes, mostly with political motivations.

The government's refusal to consolidate in one debt the great variety of agricultural debts to the public sector, debts caused primarily by the 5 years of drought--meaning that in the first year of good harvests after this bad period, the farmers and livestock producers were still as deeply in debt as if that year had never existed--was the last straw. Now, after selling the last of this "once in a century harvest," the beet growers in Valladolid, the olive growers in Jaen, the tobacco farmers in Madrid, and the corn producers in Granada and in the Ebro valley are demonstrating in assemblies and in protest meetings against this situation in which they are trapped, with no way out.

7679

CSO: 3548/22

ILLEGAL FOREIGN WORKERS COMPLICATE UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

Madrid ABC in Spanish 21 Oct 84 pp 60-61

[Article by Minerva Donald]

[Text] The existence of 2.5 million Spaniards without work, 30 percent of whom have still not gotten their first job, combined with the presence of nearly a half million foreigners competing in the labor market, is creating a situation of hostility directed against any non-Spanish person who wants to settle in our country. The ambiguity of the authorities about the presence of foreigners in Spain, the lack of a clear and precise explanation of the government's position on the legal regulation of these immigrants, and the obligation which we have to comply with international treaties favoring the mobility of labor, are causing many Spanish citizens to ask themselves: "How can it be possible that with the number of unemployed we have, the government can allow the entry of foreign workers taking jobs away from our own people?"

This question, which in the beginning was murmured in a low voice, quietly and individually, is now threatening to become a popular outcry. The presence of foreign workers in our country, not so many as people believe, but still quite a few more than there were a decade ago, is beginning to bother many people who feel threatened by unemployment. In general, these are people who don't think about the Spanish citizens who are working outside of our borders, nor are they familiar with the treaties, nor do they accept the justification that the majority of these foreigners are either technicians, scientists, or unskilled workers who take jobs turned down by Spanish citizens because of their low status and low pay. The majority of the workers who are unemployed know only one thing: that while they, their children, the neighbor across the street, or a casual acquaintance lack a job, there are foreigners who have jobs. The impotence of the masses of the people to put an end to what they

feel is partly responsible for their unemployment is leading to an upsurge of a xenophobic attitude directed against the foreign population residing in our country.

There is no Control

This attitude of hostility, reproach, and lack of understanding directed toward foreigners in general, no matter what their status in our country as workers, diplomats, or businessmen, is growing constantly, and threatening to lead in the not very distant future to street disturbances, unless their presence on Spanish soil is properly clarified before that happens. The public authorities can not and must not continue to remain silent in response to the clamor from public opinion calling for an explanation. For the public does not understand why foreign workers are being allowed to enter Spain, when the unemployment index here already stands at about 20 percent of the active population. This situation is certainly not going to be improving anytime soon. It will even grow worse, since the rate of job losses is rising.

The appropriate authorities--the ministries of labor and the interior--when asked to discuss what measures have been taken to control the influx of foreign workers into our country, were only able to cite a few, leaving the impression that there is no control in this area. The same must be said about competition in the labor market from people who first enter Spain as tourists or students, and then begin to work here.

According to data provided by the ministry of labor, there are now about 500,000 foreigners in Spain with work permits. According to Caritas, most of them have settled here because of economic necessity; some 40,000 are undocumented and are therefore working illegally. And to this contingent of legal and illegal workers, who can be counted more or less accurately, depending on their status, we have to add those people who, because of agreements signed between Spain and their respective countries, can enter Spain without any problem.

Hispanic-Americans, Filipinos, Andorrans, Guineans, and Brazilians, by virtue of the provisions of laws 118/69, 58/10 and the ministerial order of 15 January 1970, do not need a work permit and many of them don't even need an entry visa. Upon arriving in Spain, citizens of these countries are considered equivalent to Spanish workers both in terms of labor relations and their inclusion in general and special Social Security systems. All are exempt from any requirement to obtain work permits. It is sufficient that a company hire them for the ministry

of labor to issue the appropriate permits, without any need to determine in advance whether there might be some Spanish worker in the INEM [expansion unknown] who could fill this job. The administrative authorities only list them in a statistics and control registry.

According to law, when the workers are from countries other than those mentioned above, before hiring them the business is required to obtain from the INEM a statement that there is no Spanish citizen registered seeking such a job.

That is what the law orders, and in theory what businesses do, but we all know that there is quite a gap between what is said and what is done. Many businessmen, in order to avoid having to pay Social Security or to ensure docility on the part of the worker--who, being foreign and being in Spain illegally, will put up with almost anything--hire foreign workers for a wage lower than what is stipulated by law, and without first determining if there is a Spanish citizen available for that job.

Explaining Some Facts

The arguments advanced both by the ministry of labor and by the ministry of the interior to justify the existence of clandestine workers are: the number of countries exempt from the visa requirement; the lack of any clear and definite legislation covering foreign workers; defective infrastructure (shortage of police personnel in organizations responsible for monitoring foreigners); and Spain's proximity to countries like France and Portugal, which serve as a conduit for labor-receiving countries. All this, combined with the economic crisis and the need to be cautious in everything related to immigration, makes taking rapid, drastic, and radical action to deal with foreigners who enter Spain illegally quite difficult. We can't give the world a reason to throw our lack of sensitivity toward foreign labor back into our face. This means that, even though we may know quite well that many African workers laid off from European factories because of the economic crisis decide not to return to their respective homelands, but instead to try their fortunes in our country when they pass through here in transit, nothing or very little can be done to avoid this, without running the risk of providing a justification for countries that would like to get rid of our emigrants.

Ridiculous Penalties

It is true that the number of foreign workers has grown in recent years, but authorities say the increase is not enough

to warrant alarm on the part of the population. What is happening is that now this immigration is noticed more than in the past because of this national fear. The figures speak for themselves. In 1980 there were 58,831 foreigners; in 1981, 61,194; in 1982, 50,501; in 1983, 57,097, and in the first quarter of 1984, 17,098 foreigners entered Spain. We should also not forget that not all these people are permanent workers; many of them are technicians working for foreign firms located in Spain, who come for only a few months or for several years. We also have diplomatic personnel, students, etc. In fact, there are different types of work permits issued (restricted validity, no longer than 6 months, temporary technical assistants, scientists, artists); initial permits, and renewed permits.

Another factor to remember in speaking about the increase in foreign workers in Spain is the ease with which the regulations on labor and residence can be evaded. The fine for a businessman who hires a worker illegally is 25,000 pesetas. The ministry of labor has a group of inspectors who monitor compliance with the regulations. We could not learn the number of inspectors assigned to this job, but it may well be supposed that, as in the ministry of the interior, this enforcement unit lacks the personnel necessary to perform its duties satisfactorily.

Still, the ministry of labor's corps of employment inspectors and controllers, during the month of July and the first 2 weeks of August, inspected 15,579 businesses with a total of 158,709 workers. They found 425 infractions and 11 million pesetas in fines were assessed. The amount of the fines indicates to us that they are not high enough to deter businessmen from violating this legislation. It is cheaper to hire a foreign worker illegally. Unless the case is discovered immediately, the savings pay for the fine. The problem at the ministry of the interior is even more difficult, as it is practically impossible to prevent many people who say they are coming to study or as tourists from entering the labor market. And let's not even say anything about the women who come as household domestic workers or as artists and then turn to a life of prostitution. "It may well be the situation created by this group of household workers and artists and some small groups of hoodlums, drug traffickers, thieves, etc, which is causing the hostility against foreigners. Every day the fallacy that the majority of these foreigners are criminals spreads even further. I don't believe that all the Portuguese, Filipinas, or Hispanic women who come as domestic workers switch to the 'life,' but there is a considerable proportion of them who end up living

outside the law," says a spokesperson from the Commissariat on Foreigners, who added that organized crime in all its facets is the biggest problem facing the police when monitoring the conduct of foreigners residing in Spain.

All the sources consulted on the thorny issue that concerns us here agree that geographic proximity is one of the factors with the greatest impact when a foreigner chooses our country as a place to work. Despite the economic crisis now hurting us, Spain is attracting a broad spectrum of foreign workers. Among those legally authorized to do so, that is, people who obtain the appropriate work permit in advance, either on their own behalf or through someone else's action on their behalf (work permits can be issued in either way), the United Kingdom holds first place, with 13.5 percent of the permits issued. During the period from January to October 1983, 7,457 work permits were issued to the UK. Next is Portugal, with 12.7 percent, then Germany with 10.2 percent. Of the Latin American countries, Argentina is in first place, receiving 5 percent of the permits issued. The Dominican Republic, the Philippines, and Portugal are the countries from which 80 percent of the young people who say they are coming as domestic workers or as artists immigrate: nearly 40 percent of them end up living in the streets.

Distrustful Xenophobia

When we remember the status of the labor market and its prospects for the future, the suspicion with which foreigners have been regarded recently becomes understandable. Nonetheless, in analyzing this problem we must realize that not all of these foreigners take jobs here. According to a report by Caritas, only 16 percent of them hold jobs desired by Spanish citizens. This is so because of these 500,000 foreigners residing in Spain, 24 percent are diplomatic personnel and technicians employed by businesses based in Spain; 10 percent are political refugees, and the rest are classified as "economic immigrants."

Nor should we forget that there are certain categories of people who, because of their origins or family connections, do not need a work permit to get a job in a Spanish company. A certain number of work permits are processed and issued without regard to the national employment situation, independently of whether or not there may be Spanish workers seeking such a job. That is the case with foreign males married to a Spanish wife or with persons born in Spain.

In the end, many factors combine to make control of foreigners residing in our country quite difficult, as not all of them

enter legally. In fact, the foreign residency number is not the same as the number of legal residents, since to this figure must be added the persons dependent on permit holders who do not require a residence permit, or persons who enter clandestinely. During 1983, 210,350 residency permits and 77,953 3-month stay permits were issued. To this group we must also add the thousands of Africans and Hispanic-Americans who cross the borders from France and Portugal illegally. This situation is serious and full of conflicts because of the repercussions that measures taken to intercept the traffic of undesirable elements often have, but it is hoped that with the new law on foreigners, the problem may at least be lessened. Let us hope this will be true. For the feeling of xenophobia that we are beginning to see is not in any way good for our country.

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CSO: 3548/22

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